

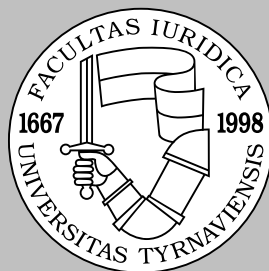
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Dagmar Lantajová, Jozef Kušlita

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

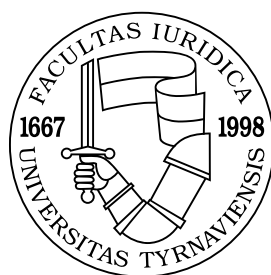


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Európsky sociálny fond



Dagmar Lantajová, Jozef Kušlita

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS



International Relations

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Introduction

You have just opened a textbook on International relations, which set out to familiarise law students with basic knowledge of international relations, the fundamental philosophical bases and theories, with a brief history of international relations and the role of the Slovak Republic in the current geopolitical space. Textbook was elaborate so that the students of the Faculty of Law are introduced to the realm / domain of the most important events in international relations, while forcing them to look for context and continuity resulting from information provided. Theoretical knowledge, which is explained in the introduction of the publication can students use in the analysis of the most important milestones of international relations, whose cross-section is a historical chapter content. The last chapter is devoted to the process of globalisation, which gives background information on the development of international relations in the 21th century. The last chapter is devoted to the foreign policy of the Slovak Republic as well as its position in the current geopolitical space.

I. Definitions

International relations can be characterised as a game in which national states compete in a variety of bets, not playing just for the joy of competition but because they hope it will pay off. Any player's success depends mainly on a degree of their impact on an opponent in order to shape their behaviour in a desired form. This definition is rather pro-saic and therefore in its form different from its scientific version which characterises *international relations as part of a political science dealing with the relationship between political subjects of national states and their foreign policies, organisations and functions of governmental institutions, focusing on foreign policy issues and factors affecting foreign policy.* Foreign policy cannot be fully separated from the internal, domestic policy. Mutual interaction, e.g. with economy of the country or energy policy is unquestionable. However, international relations may affect any other subjects, not only the states themselves, such as non-state actors (multinational, multinational corporations, non-state armed groups, terrorist groups, etc.) or the third sector, sport events (boycotting the Olympic Games in Moscow 1980 and Los Angeles 1984).

On the one hand it can be said that the international relations are one of the youngest disciplines of the social sciences but in the opinion of another group of scientists they are among the very old sciences with their roots dating back to the time 3 000 B.C. around (the period of ancient China, India, Greece, Rome – the period we can call as the drama of human history marked by millions of the dead in various armed conflicts).

The term “**international relations**” as we use it today, was used for the first time by the English philosopher, economist and lawyer **Jeremy Bentham** in the 1780s. The traditional approach of international relations mostly involved institutions and creating foreign policy, shaping foreign policy agenda and decision-making processes. Gradually, however, the concept of international relations has subsumed the other new ones. International relations were subsequently developing as part of political sciences. International relations began to be divided into various subbranches. According to *UNESCO* categorisation they are divided into *international politics, international organisations and international law*. In accordance with the *International Studies Association* they are divided into subbranches, namely: diplomatic studies, foreign policy analysis, development studies (global), international law, international organisations, international political economy, (international) security studies, peace studies and conflict resolution, international political sociology.

The major role of international relations is considered to be *exploring and explaining the international environment and its character, changes, opportunities and ways of survival of the human species, co-operation between states and conflict resolution*. The task is also contained in the following definitions, each defining international relations from different point of view. Nowadays, no state can develop in isolation, but in enters into relations with other states by various methods. These international relations are developing and they are the objective historical category. We are discussing the relationships that are the subject of scientific field of *international relations, i.e. political relations between states – interstate relations*.

International relations thus can be characterised as:

- summary of the political, economic, social and other social relations existing between nations, (where international relations governed by international law are called international legal relations), or
- specific form of social relations realised in the form of political, economic, legal, military and other relations and contacts, in the form of military alliance and mutual relations between states and groups of states, or
- summary of the entire international affairs given by the foreign policy activities of states and international business and multinational institutions, organisations, or
- part of political science dealing with the relations between the political departments of the national states and their foreign policies, organisations and functions of governmental institutions focusing on foreign policy issues and factors that affect foreign policy (as geography and economics) in terms of foreign policy.

International relations are international:

- due to their functional content that goes beyond the competence of a particular state
- due to the involvement of two or more states, or all states (and not because they are partly or wholly performed outside a state)
- they have an impact on international law, its implementation, changes as well as development.

Arrangement of international relations is of coordinative character unlike the intrastate arrangement of relations, the character of which is subordinative. The international community does not have a supreme legislation giving body or “world government”, it is a community of unorganised, of non-authoritative institutions (unlike intra-national policy, which is regulated by the courts, legislation and other authorities) to regulate behaviour of its members, so the character of international relations is decentralised. Decentralisation, however, also means that the parties of international relations tend to be obsessed, feel insecure and therefore need to get armed at least in the interest of self-defence. Fortunately, the international community is not constantly at the state of war due to that fact. It is possible to agree with John Stoessingerom, who claims that in international relations there is “*ever-present tension between the struggle for power and the struggle for order.*” The emergence of this tension dates back

to the emergence of national states, i.e. the period after 1648 – the end of the 30-year war ended by the Peace of Westphalia, and it continues to this day.

International relations in a broader sense combine especially political, economic, cultural, legal and military relations.

International political relations (also as international politics) can be characterised as a complex of mutual political activity of all the elements of the system of international relations; the global political system is not controlled by the central authority, so authority remains in the individual countries, it is sparse and the source of competition, conflict, instability.

There is growing relevance of **international economic relations**, i.e. the global economy, which includes all the countries and regions as well as the various areas of human activity. Within we distinguish four basic types of movements: the goods (world trade), capital, labour and services.

International cultural relations are taking on their significance; mutual exchange and learning about different cultural values contribute to mutual understanding and rapprochement of peoples and thus they are favourable to development of international relations.

International legal relations (also as international law) result from the activities of the subjects of international relations, in particular the states regulating these relations based on the principles and standards the parties have agreed on.

International military relations represent a summary of the military-political, military-economic, military-technical relations. They form an integral part of every foreign policy, their specific manifestations are highly fanciful (the states' participation in the political and military ties, cooperation in arms production, interviews, discussions, international treaties). The notion of international relations is closely related to the concept of **international politics**, which can be described as the *study of who, what, when and how acquired on the international scene*.

International relations currently very strongly *influence on domestic politics of a state*, they often decisively influence functioning of the political system in each country. They can directly influence political, economic or even military pressure, which can be:

- Indirect challenges in the form of threats or political or economic measures or military intervention,
- Participation or membership of states in various international groupings which do not exercise coercion but the member states become the members of these groups and thus indirectly shape their internal political situation and internal political system
- States voluntarily decide on changes in their political systems as in terms of their international status they do not have any other solution.

II. The Rules of International Relations

International relations are not harmonious, they are highly conflicted and there are constant conflicts of interest. Each state is in its policy trying to increase its own security and its impact on international affairs, but no state is alone in this and therefore meets exactly the same interests of other states.

The rules of this relationship are difficult to set, but generally we may talk about:

- *predominantly determining* relationship between two big and strong partners, the role of weak states is smaller or even zero,
- *relationship of two weaker states* can be examined in isolation only if the problem is not the conflict of any other states as well, which happens very rarely (in practice, however, we also observe cases where the conflict is essentially meaningless but used by major powers to resolve their major disputes),
- *relationship of strong and weak partners* does not exist in genuine form as a relationship only two, it is usually interesting to stronger partners for fear of infringing the balance of power,
- *Absence of a relationship between only two countries* currently – mostly relations of two groups of states, individual states do not decide on their foreign policy independently and in isolation, as any bilateral relationship of international relations is becoming a part of larger groups of states
- *Completion of the implementation of independent foreign policy of states*, and thus has no direct relationship and dependence of internal and foreign policy, small and weak states are often a tool or object and also a victim of policies of stronger and more powerful states; independent foreign policy of small and weak states is therefore more or less just illusory.

The current world politics is characterised by the process of globalisation therefore relations of two states are no longer relations only of these two entities, as it was typical for them even in the late of 19th century.

However, if we talk about the **rules of states conduct** in their relations thus international relations, we must not forget the rules of international law that states are obliged to comply.

Since international law does not contain in their sources (usually in international custom or international agreement) binding theoretical definition of the term “rules of international law”, as well as their nature and structure, it must be based on scientific

views of international law and, therefore, we understand **the rules of international law** as *binding norms of behaviour of the subjects of international law, the breach of which gives rise to the international responsibility and that enforcement is possible through the institute of sanctions*. These rules, in other words, define the rights and obligations of international legal relations and are a model of their behaviour. The rules of international law can be divided according to different criteria, which allow them to be divided into several groups, of which the following are particularly important for international relations:

According to an extent of general sense – **norms** (specific rules, having a specific forms, providing the particular rights and obligations of international relations) and **principles** (more general rules, legally binding rules of highly general nature, which are either *customary* – the principle of sovereign equality – or they are declared in the *international treaty* – the principle of “common heritage of mankind” in the Moon Agreement of 1979). (More on the principles in the next chapter.)

According to a number of recipients – **universal / general** (generally accepted, recognised and binding all states, e.g. the Charter of the United Nations), **particular / regional** (applicable to a group of states or for all the states of a certain region, the Council of Europe) and **individual / local** (governing the relationship between two, and rarely among several states on a reciprocal basis, for example the Agreement between the Governments of the Slovak and the Czech Republics on the establishment of diplomatic relations).

According to intensity of regulatory skills, legal power and means of change – **peremptory / imperative / coercive** (contained in the principles and standards that cannot be cancelled, changed or replaced by other rules, even if a consensus reached between several subjects of international relations, of *erga omnes* character – definition: Peremptory norm is a imperative norm adopted by the whole international community as the norm from which cannot be derogated from and which can be changed only by a new norm of general international law of the same nature), are customary as well as conventional nature and includes, e.g. prohibition of the use of force and threat of force, the prohibition of appropriation and **non-mandatory** (mandatory for the states, but allows to make special arrangements, to derogate the original standards, they can be replaced, changed or cancelled by a new non-mandatory rule).

III. Principles of Friendly Relations and Co-operation

In international relations, all the sovereign states are legally equal, regardless of the area of their territory, number of population, economic power, etc. This rule can be found embedded in all international treaties, including the UN Charter (Article 2 – *the United Nations is based on the sovereign equality of all its members, all members fulfill in the good faith the obligations under the Charter, all Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means, refrain from the threat or use of force power* – formal equality.) Impact of individual states is not the same in practice. Powers have a special status, manifested especially in matters of peace and security, where their security is often encountered with prior consultation of the powers.

Privileged position among the principles is based in so called **fundamental principles of international law** (having the crucial importance to the existence of international law), which are codified in **the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, adopted by UN General Assembly Resolution No. 2625 (XXV)** of 24 October 1970 (agreed by consensus). The endeavour to codify them was developed by the international community in 1947 already, when imposed the task to the International Law Commission. In 1949, the proposal was discussed at the UN General Assembly, but the adoption of the principles was finally postponed in 1951 until the time of greater acceptance by all the states.

The Declaration declared the following 7 principles:

1. **The principle of the prohibition of the threat or the use of force;** each state shall refrain the threat or the use of force in their international relations against territorial integrity or political independence of any state, as well as in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations. Herein the force is meant the military, armed force (war of aggression is therefore considered to be a crime against peace).
2. **The principle of peaceful settlement of international disputes;** each state shall settle their disputes by peaceful means so international peace and security would not be endangered, and shall ensure that disputes are settle as soon as possible and equitably in accordance with the principle of sovereign equality of states.
3. **The principle of no interference into the internal affairs of any state;** no state or group of states has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason into the internal affairs of another state, *i.e.* has no right to use econom-

- ic, political or any other measures (or encourage others to use them) in order to make the state compelled to act in accordance with its will.
4. **The principle of compulsory co-operation of states;** states should cooperate with each other regardless of differences in their political, economic and social systems, without discrimination of any state for any reason arising from the differences existing between them.
 5. **The principle of equal rights and self-determination of nations;** all nations without distinction shall have the right to freely determine their political status, without external interference, *i.e.* free to choose the direction and nature of its economic, political and cultural development.
 6. **The principle of sovereign equality of states;** all states shall have the same rights and status as equal members of the international community, regardless of their differences, they have a duty to respect other states, in good faith perform its obligations and live in peace with other states.
 7. **The principle of fair compliance with international obligations;** a states shall fulfill in good faith the obligations taken over in accordance with the UN Charter, shall comply with international treaties to which it is a party, as well as the recognised and customary rules of international law.

In Europe, the principles were addressed at *the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe*, which adopted its **Final Act** in Helsinki on 21st July 1975. It declared the following 10 principles:

1. *sovereign equality and respect for the rights arising therefrom,*
2. *refraining from the threat or the use of force,*
3. *inviolability of frontiers,*
4. *territorial integrity of state,*
5. *peaceful settlement of disputes,*
6. *no interference in internal affairs,*
7. *respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion and belief,*
8. *equal rights and self-determination of peoples,*
9. *cooperation among states,*
10. *fulfilment obligations under international law in good faith .*

Comparing the contents of two lists of the principles, however, we come to the conclusion that they are basically the same. In Helsinki Final Act the inviolability of borders and territorial integrity are listed separately. In the UN General Assembly Declaration they are subsumed under the principle of no use of force and threat of force. The principle concerning the protection of human rights and freedoms has been added to the UN principles. It provides the obligation of states to fulfil all international obligations in the field based on the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

IV. Foreign Policy and Diplomacy

Foreign policy of state is the activity through which each state participates in international relations. Foreign policy can be characterised as:

- Activity more or less planned, conscious, the content, forms and objectives of which are influenced by the interests of state concerned,
- Activities of a state aimed to create favourable conditions for its existence related to other states, as well as other subjects of international relations in the interest of internal security and prosperity a state concerned,
- Activity strengthening political power of the ruling group, it is a continuation of domestic policy and is determined by it,
- Activity realised by specific government institutions; government has a competence to implement it and bears responsibility for it,
- Activity implementing state and national interest of the state leading towards its conservation, increasing its security and influence in international relations
- Activity, the success of which depends on the instruments (diplomatic, economic, geographic, demographic, nationalist, historical, cultural) in disposal of a state, and on its financial conditions.

Foreign policy behaviour of states corresponds to their mutual activities that are linked to the wider objectives of states resulting from long-term ambitions of their leaders or the currently set objectives during negotiations with representatives of other states. The patterns of such behaviour can be identified as:

- **self-protection** (maintenance of the *status quo*),
- **own range** (revision of the *status quo* to own liking)
- **own waiver** (revision of the *status quo* to someone else's liking) – much less common practice.

When creating foreign policy of a state, its top representatives have to decide whether to prefer an *alliance* with some other countries (participation in an alliance does not only mean its common application of the alliance military resources but the state will also have to endure allies' possible interference with its internal affairs, retraction to other alliance disputes), or remain neutral (impartial) in the world affairs. The second dimension of foreign policy is the *area of a state self-interest*; some states defined their interests in the global environment, but majority of them within the region. In relation to the third dimension we talk about *foreign policy, "m.o."* ("*modus operandi*" – a method of activity that may be useful in describing the states' behaviour in foreign policy), where states have distinctive patterns of their behaviour and preferred methods to achieve their targets, which can change with time. Some countries tend

to *multilateral* operations, they are *more polymorphic* and therefore they are searching for their problem solution within the diplomatic institutions to which they belong, and they rarely use bilateral approaches. Another characteristic feature of the states behaviour is their *activism*. The more active state, the higher probability it will initiate activities in international relations or oppose initiatives developed by others. Such states tend to use power more than others.

As a result of the states' foreign policy behaviour there are **3 categories of foreign policy decisions**:

1. **macro-decisions** occurring in the environment, in which:
 - a) a decision that is *expected* and is not a reply to some unexpected event needs to be made,
 - b) there is relatively a *long time frame* to make a decision
 - c) *there is a variety of domestic political actors* involved in a decision-making process but the decision are finally made by the highest officials;
2. **micro-decisions** containing interests are:
 - a) relatively *narrowly defined*,
 - b) do not constitute *a major threat* to the authority,
 - c) deal with them at a *lower level of government bureaucracy*;
3. **decisions made in crisis** situations characterised by:
 - a) *high degree of risk* and potential importance,
 - b) *final time frame* to reach a decision,
 - c) involvement of *top-level establishment's* in foreign policy decision-making process.

The link between domestic and foreign policy is mutual, reciprocal, they affect each other. Foreign policy makes a whole with diplomacy and they cannot be separated. **Diplomacy** described by the British diplomat Sir Harold Nicolson as the management of international relations through negotiations and the method adjusting these relations and managed by ambassadors and special envoys can be characterised as:

- the method of conducting foreign policy of states that seeks to achieve the intended objectives by negotiation between states,
- the main instrument of each country's foreign policy,
- the practical activity of state leading to conduct its foreign policy, to realise its goals at the international level, to protect its rights and interests as well as its citizens abroad
- the summary of practical measures, forms and methods used in foreign policy
- playing a major role in the process of international treaty and customary law.

In terms of *its operation*, diplomacy is divided into :

- **Bilateral** – diplomatic relations of two states with emphasis on correspondence,
- **Multilateral** – negotiations of more parties with an emphasis on direct negotiations of diplomats

- **Summit** – a meeting of the highest officials of states and governments.

In terms of the *role of public*, diplomacy is divided into:

- **Secret**, which is required for certain areas
- **Public** that is used especially in democratic countries, where pressure is growing to get the public informed about the progress and results of the procedure.

In terms of *forms*, diplomacy is divided into:

- **Formal** (direct communication through face-to-face meetings, cable connections, etc.)
- **Tacit.**

The objectives and tasks of diplomacy are determined by certain state's foreign policy. Diplomacy is a very important means to ensure that international relations are not controlled by force only. Discussing controversial issues is an essential alternative to dispute resolutions by an armed conflict. A compromise that is acceptable to all parties concerned can be reached through bilateral and multilateral negotiations between the parties, the use of mediation as well as good services of a third party who is not directly involved into the subject matter, and also through judicial decision or arbitration. There are the following **forms** distinguished in **diplomatic activity**:

1. **diplomatic congresses, conferences or meetings** – periodical meetings of states' representatives at different levels (*e.g.* president, prime minister)
2. **diplomatic correspondence – letters, statements, memoranda, notes**:
 - *Formal (personal) note* – a written communication in the form of a letter, which is usually exchanged between the head of the diplomatic mission and the head of the receiving state in severe cases, or as a matter of courtesy (condolences, congratulations)
 - *Verbal note* – the most common form of diplomatic correspondence between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and diplomatic mission (embassies), which is used to clarify the issues, to present views
 - *Collective note* – used when several embassies want to announce their joint statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the receiving State
 - *Circular Note* – Ministry of Foreign Affairs sends to all embassies in case of organisational issues announcement is needed
 - *Memorandum* – record, a statement explaining the factual and legal issues of a specific issue
 - *Aide-mémoire* – informal diplomatic document containing the information the recipient has already learnt orally
 - *Bout de paper* – less official document than *aide-mémoire* – a brief written statement of a position orally expressed before
 - *Non paper* – the least binding form of a written statement of an opinion to the emerging, yet not final position
3. **preparation and conclusion of international treaties** covering various issues of international politics

4. **daily representation of state outside of its borders** – operated by foreign state authorities responsible for international relations and diplomatic negotiations in its own country
5. **participation of a state representatives in the activities of international organisations** – the member state sends its experts as well as senior representatives for the various activities of international intergovernmental organisations
6. **explaining and interpreting opinions** – on various foreign policy issues
7. **disclosure of official information** – on the most important international events
8. **issuing official documents and international files.**
9. In addition, the following is used in diplomatic relations: **press conferences, various statements, hotlines** (direct telephone line).

V. State Authorities Responsible for International Relations

States act outwardly through their bodies, which are authorised to negotiate for a state outwardly. According to the place where these bodies are operating, we talk about the internal and foreign authorities.

Internal Authorities:

- operate within their own countries
- are the constitutional bodies of a state: **Head of State, Government, Foreign Affairs Minister**
- international law recognises their representative character, they may negotiate on behalf of a state on all issues, without disposing of full powers,
- and on certain specific issues also some **other Ministers or Administrative Bodies** (such persons may act *only with duly produced full powers*).

Foreign Authorities:

- operate on the territory of another state or at international organisation headquarters
- diplomatic – capable of acting on behalf of a state in political issues – **diplomatic mission, special mission, permanent mission to an international organisation, delegation to an international conference**
- non-diplomatic – capable of acting in non-political matters – **consular offices, commissioners**
- special kind – **the troops** at the time of their passage or stay in another country
- based on duration of credentials can be divided into permanent, *i.e.* entrusted to the permanent representation (diplomatic mission, permanent mission to an international organisation, consulate) and temporary, *i.e.* entrusted to a limited task (special mission delegation to an international conference commissioners).

Diplomatic law grants all the persons the diplomatic privileges and immunities.

Head of State

- representative character in line with the general international law – the power to represent a state outwardly without special authorisation
- Constitution provides the right to represent a state externally, negotiate and ratify treaties, send and receive diplomatic representatives, declare the state of war and conclude peace treaties

- while on the territory of another state he / she uses diplomatic privileges and immunities to a greater extent than other diplomats as:
 1. *the right to honor,*
 2. *the right to raise the flag and the national emblem on the residence and vehicles*
 3. *the right to special protection and security of personal integrity*
 4. *the right to exercise governmental functions during the period of residence in another country (e.g. signing of acts)*
 5. *freedom to contact the authorities of own country and other countries without censoring and with the right to use codes and couriers*
 6. *inviolability of residence, house, car, boat, aircraft or vehicle used by the head of state during his stay abroad*
 7. *immunity from criminal and civil jurisdiction of the state of residence*
 8. *exemption from taxes and duties, including customs duties on personal effects. His wife and family members accompanying the head of state shall enjoy the same privileges and immunities.*

Government

- usually the supreme executive body
- usually governs the state international relations
- has representative character under international law
- its acts are binding for a state
- in international relations it is represented by the prime minister, but another member of the government can also be authorised to it
- the prime minister enjoys all the privileges and immunities during the stay in another country

Minister of Foreign Affairs

Enjoys all the privileges and immunities, and manages special Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the following responsibilities:

- Implementing foreign policy in line with national instructions
- Maintaining regular contacts with permanent diplomatic representatives and representatives of other states and international organisations
- Managing diplomatic missions and consular posts abroad
- Protecting the interests of a state and its citizens abroad
- Collaborating with other bodies responsible for international relations
- Reporting, proposals and other important information in the field of foreign policy.

Other Bodies – Members of Government, Administrative Bodies

- have the authority under national law, they can act after production of full powers only and in certain specified areas only
- shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

Fundamental right of a sovereign state is the right to diplomatic relations with other states. Diplomatic relations and diplomatic privileges and immunities were first regulated by the international customary law, after the World War II, however, a number

of conventions were adopted and the given area of international law was codified. This area is currently governed by the following multilateral documents:

- *Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations, New York, 13 February 1946* – Published in Collection of Laws of the Slovak Republic under No. 52/1956 Coll.
- *The Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, Vienna 18 April 1961* – Published in Collection of Laws of the Slovak Republic under No. 157/1964 Coll.
- *The Vienna Convention on Consular Relations, Vienna, 24 April 1963* – Published in Collection of Laws of the Slovak Republic under No. 32/1969 Coll.
- *Convention on Special Missions, New York, 12 August 1969* – Published in Collection of Laws of the Slovak Republic under No. 40/1987 Coll.
- *Vienna Convention on Representation of the States in their Relations with International Organisations of Universal Character, Vienna, 14 March 1975* (has not entered into force yet)
- *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Persons Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents, New York, 30 November 1973* – Published in Collection of Laws of the Slovak Republic under No. 131/1978 Coll.

Establishing diplomatic relations between states and consequently the establishment of diplomatic missions takes place by mutual agreement. The condition for concluding a treaty on establishing diplomatic relations is the recognition of a state. If this official act has not happened, conclusion of the agreement on establishment of diplomatic relations is considered to be an act of the recognition of a state. The establishment of diplomatic relations is usually the establishment of consular relations as well. The beginning of diplomatic relations *de jure* and *de facto* means the exchange of diplomatic representatives. In diplomatic practice, however, we occasionally experience the interruption of diplomatic relations (the USA – Iran after the events of November 1979). In such a case the sending state recalls its diplomatic representative and closes its diplomatic mission in the country.

The diplomatic mission is headed by the head of a diplomatic mission – a person appointed by the sending state. In practice, there are 3 groups of the heads of diplomatic missions (the classification does not affect the status apart from the order and etiquette)

1. **ambassadors and nuncios** accredited by the Head of State
2. **envoys, ministers and internuncios** also accredited by the Head of State
3. **chargé d'affaires en pied (e.p.)** appointed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Before being appointed the head of a mission it is important to seek the approval of the receiving state – grant of *agrément*. The receiving state may or may not agree with the proposed person, however, does not have to justify the reason of its disagreement.

Apart from the head of diplomatic mission, any mission consists of the **staff**:

- **Diplomatic** – members of the diplomatic rank, their number is determined by the needs and based on a agreement of the receiving state (need to inform the receiving state of their appointment, arrival, departure), the receiving state may notify the sending state at any time without giving any reason that any member of the diplomatic mission is considered an undesirable person (*persona non grata*), or it is unacceptable (it should only happen in a case of espionage, violation of laws, hostile action). In most cases, the a counteraction follows, *i.e.* designation of an equal number of diplomatic staff of the mission as *persona non grata* by the authorities of the sending state, when it is in the position of the receiving state,
- **Administrative and technical** – ensures proper running of a diplomatic office itself,
- **Service** – staff employed in domestic services of the mission.

Heads of diplomatic missions are diplomatic corps headed by a **doyen** – professionally the most senior diplomatic representative of the highest class (seniority is counted from the moment when the credentials were presented to the head of state), in Catholic countries it is usually the papal nuncio regardless of his seniority.

For the purpose of smooth performance of the office, diplomatic missions and **diplomatic privileges** are granted to their members (positive content, diplomats have some extra privileges and advantages over domestic population) **and immunities** (negative content, diplomats are exempt from certain standards of the receiving state which otherwise apply for residents).

Privileges and immunities of diplomatic staff and their families:

1. *personal inviolability (they cannot be arrested or detained)*
2. *inviolability of private premises, property, documents, correspondence,*
3. *freedom of movement within the territory of the receiving state except the areas where access is restricted due to national security,*
4. *immunity from criminal, civil and administrative jurisdiction,*
5. *exemption from personal services (such as military service)*
6. *exemption from the social security provisions in the receiving state*
7. *exemption from all taxes and duties of personal, material, state, regional or municipal, except the charges for services and from indirect taxes*
8. *exemption from customs duties on articles for personal use, for the initial household equipment.*

Privileges and immunities are designed for the sending state and for its diplomats as officials of the state, not as to private persons, so the sending state may waive them, however, is obliged to do so explicitly. Privileges and immunities of diplomats come into force on their entry into the receiving state and expire at the moment of leaving the territory.

Diplomatic Mission

- represents the sending state in the receiving state

- protects the interests of the sending state and its nationals in the receiving state
- negotiates with government of the receiving state
- ascertains the situation in the receiving state by legal means, observes its progress and reports to their government thereon,
- helps to maintain and develop friendly relations between the two states,
- may also perform consular functions
- the receiving state shall facilitate their work, help them in getting a place for the diplomatic mission itself as well as accommodation for their members,
- it is generally based in the capital of the receiving state
- has the following privileges and immunities:
 1. the right of the head of mission to **use the flag and the national emblem** of the sending state in the premises of the mission, the head of mission residence and his vehicles,
 2. **inviolability of the premises of the mission**, which are deemed to buildings or parts of buildings and lands appertaining thereto, which are used for the purposes of the mission including the residence of the head,
 - The receiving state shall protect the premises of the mission from any intrusion or damage;
 - Inviolability does not mean that the premises are part of the national territory of the mission state. The acts taking place there are under the territorial jurisdiction of the receiving state. As indicated by the commitment of the sending state – not to use the room in a manner inconsistent with the functions of diplomatic missions *e.g.* not to grant asylum to a person fleeing away to serve of sentence,
 3. **inviolability** (always and everywhere) **of archives and documents**, also official correspondence – diplomatic baggage cannot be opened or detained
 4. **freedom of mission to connect with government** and other missions of the sending state, wherever located (telephone, telegraph, diplomatic couriers, radio only with the consent of the receiving state – messages can be encoded and encrypted)
 5. **relief missions from** national, regional or local **taxes and fees**, except the fees for selected services (water, gas, electricity),
 6. **exemption from customs duties** on imported articles for official use of the mission.

Special Mission

- during the World War I they were an extraordinary connecting instrument to the negotiations about the issues of military strategy and high politics,
- during the World War II their number rose – with the need to address the issue directly between the representatives of one state and the senior officials of another state,
- based on the proposal of the United Nations International Law Commission the codification of the rules relating to special missions took place in 1969,

- it is a temporary mission representing a state, sent by one state to another with its consent in order to discuss certain issues or to fulfill a particular task,
- as it is a temporary mission (to the contrary with a permanent diplomatic mission), it performs a task of limited size (to the contrary with a diplomatic mission representing a state in all issues)
- it can be sent to two or more states, even to such a country where a state has not established diplomatic relations yet or might not even recognise it,
- granting *agrément* is not required,
- the receiving state:
 - a) shall be informed about the size and composition of the mission, has to know the names and functions of persons,
 - b) may refuse to accept a special mission and any of its members,
 - c) through its Ministry of Foreign Affairs shall be informed of all the facts related to the mission (arrival, composition, location of rooms, the final departure)
 - d) may designate any member of *persona non grata* without giving any reason;
- the mission begins its work on the first day of the official contact with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or other agreed authority and expires by the agreement of the participating parties, completion of its tasks, expiry of its period, revocation by the sending state;
- privileges and immunities are actually identical to the immunities of diplomatic missions and diplomatic agents, but the integrity of the rooms is not absolute (approval of the head of mission with the intervention during natural disasters is assumed).

Permanent Missions to International Organisations

- their status, privileges and immunities are provided by the *Vienna Convention on the Representation of States in their Relations with International Organisations of Universal Character of 1975*,
- they have permanent character and represent a member state to an international organisation; they were established for that purpose,
- they have the **following functions**:
 1. to ensure representation of the sending state to an international organisation,
 2. to maintain necessary link between the sending state and an international organisation,
 3. to negotiate with an international organisation, or to operate within it (*e.g.* participation in concluding international treaties of this organisation),
 4. to ascertain the activities of an organisation and to inform its government about them,
 5. to promote international cooperation in order to implement the objectives and principles of an international organisation,
- its composition is identical to diplomatic missions; a number of members should not exceed the limits of rationality and normality with regard to the functions of an international organisation,

- privileges and immunities are actually identical to the privileges and immunities of diplomatic missions,
- the host state is obliged to respect the inviolability of the mission buildings, entry only with the approval of the head of mission.

Delegations in International Organisations and at International Conference

Their function, status, privileges and immunities are provided by the *Vienna Convention on the Representation of States in their Relations with International Organisations of Universal Character of 1975*.

- it is a delegation sent by a state in order to participate on its behalf at the negotiations of this body, at a conference in accordance with the procedural rules of the organisation,
- the sending state may freely appoint the members of the delegation, the number should not exceed reasonable and normal size,
- Delegation consisting of its head and other delegates negotiates based on the credentials issued by an authorised national authority of the sending state,
- privileges and immunities are actually the same as privileges and immunities for diplomatic missions.

Military Unit, Ship and Aircraft

- if they occur in another country in peace time they act as a foreign authority of its state,
- their actions are "attributable to" their state,
- they enjoy a special legal status, their flag and symbols have the right to honor, and members of the ship or aircraft crews shall be exempt from the jurisdiction of the state of residence to fulfil their military obligations and are subject to the laws and regulations of the military conduct of its own country.

Consular Post

- is designed to protect the interests of the sending state and its subjects, both individuals and legal persons, and to performance of certain administrative, economic and civil affairs,
- its status, privileges and immunities are governed by the *Vienna Convention on Consular Relations of 1963*,
- in the past they did not have a representative character, this distinction currently fades away.

VI. Foreign Policy Behaviour of States

Why are some countries trying to get global or regional impact, while others wish to be in isolation? Why do some countries in certain situations prefer the use of force, others prefer multilateral diplomacy and some do only bilateral cooperation? So why do states act as they do?

Many, especially realists might argue that international relations are not as complicated as we make them and see them, and that they actually stem from national interests, as named by Winston Churchill (which means that all state officials are trying to maximise the benefits for their states compared to other states). Various scientific research teams examine foreign political behaviour of countries as well as the causes of it. Afterwards using comparative analysis they provide us with an adequate explanation of their behaviour, so that we can understand it better and in order to find out that within the years foreign policy behaviour of states is subject to various influences, whether national or coming from beyond national borders of particular states.

It is appropriate to focus on the concept of national interests first as it is the basis for a number of reflections on the motives of a state action. The elementary national interests of the states include:

1. *securing physical survival of their homeland* (including protection of their citizens lives and maintaining territorial integrity),
2. *securing economic well-being of their citizens,*
3. *protecting self-determination* (taking into account their political regime and conducting foreign affairs).

The following question arises: **why can countries share similar goals although they behave differently?**

1. concept of "national interests" is very vague, when making decisions politicians have to respect the complexity of their solutions (e.g. if economic well-being means economic self-sufficiency, will it require expanding national territory in consideration of not depending on the outside world?)
2. not all the states and their leaders use the same criteria to determine when the national or economic interests are met (e.g. the Middle East – what one country considers defence policy may be regarded as aggression by another one)
3. *three objectives – national defence, economic prosperity and self-determination* may be incompatible and compelling a compromise decision "either – or" (e.g. "guns or butter")

4. national interests interpreted by government may be useful for the nation as a whole, or they may privilege only a part of the nation
5. some governments are reluctant to define and enforce the above three basic goals but any additional targets.

The foresaid facts emerge the question where the nation interests end and where the international interests start and how they can be separated? For example, peace – it is the goal of foreign policy (almost?) of all the states and it belongs to one of their highest priorities, but it can be enforced in different ways such as severe military intimidation, arms control, diplomatic negotiations and various penalties.

To achieve their goals governments are using different ways of behaviour and therefore it is very important to analyse their national interests as well as other factors affecting foreign policy behaviour of the states.

Determinants of the nation-state behaviour can be categorised as:

1. **system factors**, *i.e.* conditions outside the state found in the surrounding international system
2. **factors of national attributes**, *e.g.* characteristics of the state
3. **idiosyncratic factors**, *i.e.* characteristics of top representatives of the state and decision-making groups

The list of factors can be compared to other lists by comparativists who created much simpler scheme of the states – actors in the world politics, taking into account two factors of their favourable position. When the first of them focuses on the situation when foreign policy is formed by the internal factors of a state, in the second there is a situation when foreign policy is shaped by the external factors of the state. Other authors prefer the scheme reflecting the action of individuals, government, companies and activities at the bilateral, regional or global levels.

System factors are the factors outside of the country affecting the country's foreign policy. The state representatives define their national interests in relation to the events around them. They do not have the possibility to control the events in the world the way they do within their country and therefore their foreign policy behaviour reflects more reactions to unforeseen events or intractable conditions. So the system factors include:

- a) geography
- b) international interaction and alliances
- c) structure of the international system

Geography (or geographical factors with the system character: *location, the length of the border, to be protected and the level of access to various points in the world*):

- conditions around the borders, the distances that must be overcome to achieve strategic interests, the length of the border;
- may provide various advantages and also disadvantages, which in turn affect foreign-policy behaviour of the country;
such *benefits*:

- a) control of strategic navigable channels (Turkey and the Dardanelles) – but it may also cause envy, resentment or attack;
 - b) remoteness from the warring powers (isolation of the USA and Australia during most conflicts)
- disadvantages, e.g.:*
- a) remoteness from warring territories – overcoming long distances to reach their goals (the long U.S. supply lines to Vietnam)
 - b) the territory cut off from the world (about 30 states)
 - c) extreme closeness of warring powers (historical position of Poland on the battlefields of Europe)
- currently, the past benefits do not always act positive, *e.g.* Panama Canal and Suez Canal cannot handle the current competition from other waterways, which unlike those canals could adapt to transport tankers or large aircraft carriers and *vice versa*, the advanced technology can neutralise to some extent geographic barriers (developing intercontinental missiles and medium-range warheads reduced the value of the areas – protective buffers, the missile defence system in Romania will not only protect its territory but also other countries in Europe)
 - for the top leaders of the state frontiers are of the utmost importance (*e.g.* Machiavelli alleged that neighbouring countries tend to be natural rivals – *e.g.* Slovakia and Hungary, while some contemporary analysts argue that geographical proximity increases the various forms of international co-operation, *e.g.* Slovakia – the Czech Republic).

International interaction and making an alliances (*i.e.* the possibility for states to be close in terms of geography as well as based on a degree of similarity or difference):

- political, economic, cultural features are key to the content and type of transactions between states
- the more similar the political, economic and cultural characteristics of states are, the higher the level of trade, communication and other forms of interaction occurs between them
- foreign aid and investment can also affect foreign policy options, depending on the sources and the amount of funds, not only to the recipient but also on the part of creditors and donor states.

Structure of the International System

- in practice there is a dispute over the fact how the global system and its structure affect foreign policy, and whether and to what extent unipolarity, bipolarity and multipolarity affect the conflicts and war, so there are various views:
- if there is only one dominant world power, power or centre of alliance, there are less conflicts, or
- if the two major powers, they keep each other in balance, world war is unlikely to burst because none of them will initiate a direct confrontation (although this does not preclude the occurrence of war between less influential actors in international relations), or

- maintain the balance of some powers limits the occurrence of wars to a minimum.

Factors of national attributes are factors whose presence or absence also affects foreign policy of the state, we include among them:

- a) demographic attributes
- b) economic attributes
- c) military attributes
- d) government attributes

Demographic Attributes

- a country's population, its number, motivation, skills, and homogeneity help to determine levers of foreign policy
- population is a very important factor of state power, it provides personnel for military force and industry
- high number of population may also be a double-edged sword, if the state does not have the necessary resources to feed, train and employ its population (India as superpower in terms of population is struggling with the development issues in the supply of a large number of people, most of its production capacity is dedicated to meet their basic needs)
- Hostile states can support dissident groups in order to overthrow the competitive government (India and Pakistan are afraid that the other one will support ethnic separatists, Iran and Iraq led many disputes over the control of their borders comprised by waterway Shatt-al-Arab, both States were also trying to use the Kurds and other ethnic groups to weaken their enemy, both in order to support the Kurds in their struggle for national independence in the other state)
- the tragic events in Lebanon during the 20-year civil war are the visible proofs of mixed demographic and international system factors, in Lebanon and in Syria there have been various warring ethnic groups and religious groups living together, and Syria wanted to dominate Lebanese politics and therefore was interested in the fights of various Islamic and Druze religious groups that were led against each other as well as against Christian communities. To control a part of the Lebanese territory (South Lebanon) Israel also supported Christians and some Islamic groups in an effort to weaken the militant Palestinians operating from the territory of Lebanon (Lebanon obtained its formal independence in 1941, the withdrawal of the French troops took place in 1946 but in 1943 the National Pact for the allocation of executive and legislative functions between Muslims and Christians in the ratio 6:5 was adopted, the highest office of the President and military functions were Maronite-Christians, the function of Prime Minister was Sunnis, Druze Chief of Military Staff was Druze and the President of the Parliament was Shiites).

Economic Attributes

- demography of a state is closely connected with its economy,

- skilled, technologically advanced population may contribute to the high standard of living, the commercial advantages in the international market and dominance over other states,
- populated countries still suffer from recurrent deficiency and chronic poverty, therefore they aim their foreign policies at promote foreign aid and military defence
- foreign policy behaviour of a state is mainly influenced by the following 3 types of economic characteristics:
 - a) *extent and rate of the national economy growth* (generally measured GNP – Gross National Product – annual calculation of the full value of the goods and services produced by inhabitants of the state and abroad),
 - b) *level of wealth* (as measured by GNP *per capita* – total income per person),
 - c) *character of the economic system* (capitalist, socialist, communist)
- highly industrialised countries may also be economically poor, it has an impact on their foreign policy
- poor countries have few members in the international intergovernmental organisations, less diplomatic offices abroad, they are more dependent on multi-lateral contacts than rich countries
- wealth determines the position of states, either as a donor or a recipient of foreign aid
- especially wealth and economy ensured the adequate resources for the USA to be able to play a global role in the world politics since the World War II
- states with economic problems, *i.e.* failing to keep foreign trade and debts at a reasonable level, being destroyed by their inflation or recession, having reduced productivity, being considered by investors unsuitable environment for investment, have much less favourable position in international politics rich countries.

Military Attributes

- readiness of a state for war is influenced by geography mainly
- if a state does not have sufficient military capability to change its unsatisfactory situation, it has to limit its foreign policy to diplomacy rather than the use of force
- capacity of military power is important in predicting relations among states
- country can be evaluated according to the size of its armed forces, a number of weapons, levels of military skills as well as levels of research and development, the level of expenditure on its armed forces (the army of Israel gets every third shekel of its budget, it has superior technology and the level of skills, high motivation, which strengthens its position towards the Arab countries having more weapons and soldiers)
- level of military preparedness of states is particularly assessed by other countries, which based on the results of their monitoring plan their foreign policy.

Government Attributes

- there are many conflicting opinions about the world politics:

- it is said that it is not relevant whether the states are democratic or there is dictatorship in them, because foreign policy is determined mainly by pressure from the international system and whether other national attributes (demographic, economic or military), national interests are reproduced by professionals in the field of foreign policy, whose mission is to protect the state population and territory
- another view shows that national interests and foreign policy are influenced by internal politics as well as by the character of the state political system, the type of government (democracy or dictatorship) is related to the tendency of the state to participate in the war, to flexibility of policy as well as efficiency and prudence
- various institutions established by governments create by their requirements internal political pressure influencing foreign policy of the country (the example of bureaucratic coercion is a battle between the U.S. Army, Navy and Air Force over the budget of the Ministry of Defence)
- there are various social interest groups affecting foreign policy:
 - a) ethnic groups (famous "Jewish" lobby in the USA to influence the American policy in the Middle East);
 - b) ideological groups (pacifists in Western European countries);
 - c) economic groups (ammunition manufacturers, farmers)
- freedom of action in foreign policy, especially during the wars, can also be restricted by public opinion
- another factor influencing foreign policy is a degree of internal political instability (*e.g.* opinion that regimes affected by an internal conflict unleash external conflicts against foreign scapegoat in order to distract public attention from internal problems – *e.g.* Argentine invasion of the Falklands in 1982)
- economically advanced countries are increasingly involved in inter-governmental international organisations such as economically less developed countries
- solving the foreign policy problems there are more and more democracies and autocracies giving priority to debate before using military force.

Idiosyncratic factors are more subjective factors dealing with individual actors of foreign policy, *i.e.* individuals and their impact on the foreign policy behaviour of the country

- it is a characteristic of individual leaders and groups making decisions on matters that may affect the country's foreign policy
- there is a view that denies greater impact of an individual on foreign policy of the country, arguing that during the important events the objective historical force and coercion have a much wider affect than an individual (such as environmental determinists argue that the German desire for revenge was emerged by the peace treaty in 1919 and the subsequent position of Germany and regardless its leader, *i.e.* Hitler who did not cause the World War II)
- theory of great men and women claims that individuals are able to form major events

- in foreign policy, both the objective conditions as well as idiosyncratic factors are necessary to be taken into account
- as individuals perceive their environment diversely, they also react differently, they differ in their views of the world as well as features of character, temperament (e.g. scientists examined the impact of early childhood experience on individual behaviour in adulthood, and they came to the conclusion that, for example, Mr. W. Wilson family environment with strict parental upbringing shaped his authoritarian personality)
- it is necessary to respect the diversity of personalities, but a generalised view is not always true, e.g. the claim that women are supposedly less warlike than men can certainly be applied to Margaret Thatcher, the “Iron Lady” and her conduct during the crisis regarding the Falkland Islands – sending navy to the island on her command)
- foreign policy is also influenced by the fact that if the right person gets the right place at the right time..., however, we should not forget that an individual can be very powerful at a given moment but later can succumb to pressure from environmental changes and thus changes its position.

It is important to examine the various factors within and beyond national borders of a state to understand why countries act the way they do, although, despite the claim that the behaviour of foreign countries can be affected by national interests. System factors seem particularly important in influencing allied behaviour of the states. The foreign policy factors affect primarily national and state attributes and idiosyncratic factors affect the modus operandi of the state. It often happens, however, all three sets of factors operate simultaneously and are stirred by the fact how the state foreign policy makers find the relationship of their state to other states.

VII. Theories of International Relations

Discipline of International Relations is considered to be as one of the youngest branches of social sciences in general. International relations actually existed already in ancient times, although undoubtedly in different form as we know them today. Nevertheless, we can say that their development within the theory of knowledge as well as scientific research began much later. The concept of international relations began to emerge in the 18th century, as well as the concept of international law. Naturally, the obsolescence of the name can be seen there, as the present international relations, the international law as well, do not address or rather do not regulate relations between peoples (nations) but relations between states, or other subjects involved. Despite this qualitative shift, the concept of international relations has settled down in the dictionary of international relations science, as well as the practice itself.

As to the theory of international relations themselves, the first attempts to examine international relations scientifically succeeded as late as in the 20th century. The first Department of International Relations was founded at the University of Wales in Aberystwyth in 1919; later on the same or similar departments were created at the London School of Economics in 1923 and the University of Oxford in 1930. Apart from the universities the institutions were created in so-called the third sector. Gradually the British Royal Institute of International Affairs based in London, the Council on Foreign Relations based in New York or German Institut für Politik Auswärtiges arose. However, golden age of the examination theory in international relations can be dated to the period after the Second World War.

It should be remarked that the theories of international relations do not constitute a monolithic set of ideas, attitudes and views on international relations functioning, but the assumptions of representatives can often be found, partly denying the attitudes of other, while the science of international relations considered them a single school of thought. Despite these discrepancies the theories of international relations have been trying to answer the essential questions of running international relations.

Theories of international relations have the following **basic functions**:

1. Knowledge of objectively existing reality; this primary function is designed to determine the status of international relations objectively, trying to concentrate on the essential elements of existing international relations and then turning their attention to the interrelation between them in order to reach a conclusion applicable in the future; *in summary*, it should answer the question: *What are international relations?*

2. The attempt to answer the question: *What should the international relations be like?* Objectively depends on the first function, it is trying to eliminate defects of the existing situation by means of abstraction and subsequent elimination of negative and undesirable elements;
3. *Applicatory functions*, which consists of adopting the acquired theoretical knowledge to practice through the work of top state leaders or state authorities in the area of international relations.

History is one of the remarkable aspects of the theoretical research of international relations. In case of majority of the social sciences there is periodisation based on some historical milestones. In international relations the system of periodisation is not based on significant events, we can rather say that periodisation is based on the qualitative and innovative moves of thought.

Development of the Discipline of International Relations and periodisation can be illustrated on the background of so-called *grand debates*, which took place in the 20th century:

1. **The first grand debate** took place in the 30s and 40s of the 20th century, and its protagonists were realism and liberalism (some authors referred to it as idealism).
2. **The second grand debate** – between traditionalism (realism, liberalism) and behaviourism – took place at the turn of the 50s and 60s years.
3. **The third grand debate** was not a battle of two players of thought. The debate was entered by descendants of the first major debate and a descendant of Marxism. The ideological opponents were neo-realism, neo-liberalism and neo-Marxism. Some authors of the third debate taken place in the 70s years also called it neo-neo debate.
4. **The fourth grand debate** began around 80s years. Its protagonists have not been so clearly defined and there are constantly new approaches entering the debate. *Robert O. Keohane* has called it the debate between racialism and reflexivism.

Due to the extensive nature of the matter, in the following lines we will endeavour to provide at least a basic analysis of the theories that we believe influenced the perception and understanding of international relations most, namely realism (neo-realism), liberalism (neo-liberalism) and Marxism (neo-Marxism). We will mention other theories at least briefly.

VII. 1 Realism

Realism as one of the protagonists of the first major debate dominated in the theories of international relations for a long time. The reason for this is the fact that among the representatives of realism we may find many prominent statesmen, ministers of foreign affairs, military leaders, diplomats and, finally, the most important theoreticians and academics. According to them, realism is currently the dominant theory of

in international relations, as its strongest point can understand of reality of international relations, *i.e.* realism provides a good answer to the question, what international relations are. On the other hand, its weakness is a response to the question of how international relations should be.

The ancient Greek philosopher **Thucydides** is considered to be the father of the theory of realism and the father of modern history. His work *History of the Peloponnesian War* is believed to be the early manifesto of realism. **Thucydides** in this his book provides an overview of basic themes of realism, particularly in parts, which is a dialogue between Athens and the island Mélos, who were allies of Sparta. In this very dialogue **Thucydides** draws attention **to the fundamental characteristics of realism**, and **the power, the state, the statism approach** (*raison d'état*), or **survival**. At the end of the work the island of Melos is defeated and its inhabitants become slaves. Based on the above facts **Thucydides** concluded on ubiquity of power in international relations, namely, that determinant of behaviour of stronger ones are limits offered them by their power and on the other hand, weaker ones are obliged to tolerate behaviour of stronger ones. Therefore, it is the theory of power politics, on which mankind have often experienced.

In the Middle Ages **Thucydides's** approach was followed by **Niccolo Machiavelli**, and later by others, e.g. **Thomas Hobbes**, **Cardinal Richelieu** and **Jean Jacques Rousseau**, who tried to create a set of principles in *raison d'état* that should be respected by the leaders of the state to in foreign policy in order to ensure the survival of the state. Exactly this doctrine can identify **three basic axioms of the theory of realism** (so called *triple S*): **statism**, **survival** and **self-help**. Representatives of realism are sceptical about the application of general moral principles in international relations. Some realists argue that in order to ensure the survival of the state, state representatives ought to distance themselves from traditional positive values if they want to ensure the survival of the state. According to them, there is a double moral standard: the first is intended for the citizens of the state and the second is intended for representatives of the state's foreign policy. Justification of double moral standard stems from the character of international relations, as the representatives of the state often have to act in foreign policy unacceptable way for individuals within the state. Nevertheless, the state represents the moral force which creates the possibility for political entity to exist at both the national and international levels.

International relations can be characterised by the concept of **anarchy**, however, the realists do not perceive anarchy as a state of chaos and lawlessness, but the state in international relations missing a central authority, as the states perceive themselves as independent and sovereign and do not recognise any common central authority. It is not possible to ensure the survival of the state in anarchy environment. As a result, states seek to secure power, which is an essential prerequisite to ensure their survival. Therefore, they have been trying to create ever greater military capabilities, although, mainly because of economic conditions not all the countries can achieve the same status, and therefore they form alliances in order to create a balance of powers, and if necessary, through military alliances as well.

Statism

In regards of the statist element, according to the realists the state is the only relevant player in the international arena. Realism does not deny the existence of others, but on the other hand it considerably marginalises their roles as the state is the only entity with a permanent character. This directly confirms the argument of **Max Weber**, the founder of sociology that the state has a monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within its territory. Similarly, **Thomas Hobbes** says that people sold their freedom for the benefit of their security. Thus the state is trying to gain its power and to ensure its safety in order to improve its position in international relations.

Survival

Survival is the main task of the state's representatives, more precisely, the state itself in international relations. Survival is the issue dividing representatives of realism; *i.e.* whether it is possible to achieve this ultimate goal by maximising power or maximising safety. Representatives of so called *defensive realism* (for example, **Kenneth N. Waltz**) argue that the state should be trying to get only that much power to ensure their survival as the state should not by trying to gain more power in order not to jeopardise its own security. On the other hand, representatives of the so called *offensive realism* (e.g. **John J. Mearsheimer**) argue that the ultimate goal of the state is to achieve hegemony status in international relations. Another representative of realism, former U.S. Secretary of State under President Richard Nixon **Henry Kissinger**, argues that the survival of the state is its first and ultimate responsibility. Just as per the realists, it should be taken into account and the consequences of the state's behaviour in international relations should be considered (so called the ethics of responsibility).

Self-help

As mentioned above, according to the representatives of realism the state is the only entity in international relations. Anarchy as an immanent feature and the structure of the international system in comparison with the structure of the national establishment means that the national security can be ensured through self-help only. On the other hand, increasing security of one country can engender sense of threat in another state; so it may provoke never-ending racing in safety improvements. This situation of spiral threat is called *security dilemma*.

Finally, it should be noted that realism as well as other theoretical bases of international relations, is not a monolithic set of ideas, opinions and attitudes on various aspects of international relations and their functioning. On the other hand, some common features and characteristics can be abstracted.

Theory of international relations divides the representatives of realism into the following subgroups:

1. *Classical realism*, its representatives were: **Thucydides**, *Niccolo Machiavelli*, *Hans J. Morgenthau*;
2. *Structural realism*, its representatives were: *Jean Jacques Rousseau*, *Kenneth N. Waltz* and *John J. Mearsheimer*; and
3. *Neoclassical realism* represented by *Fareed Zakaria*.

VII. 2 Liberalism

Liberalism as well as realism does not create a monolithic philosophical view of international relations; it may even be said that compared to realism the current level of coherence in philosophical liberalism is even lower. Nevertheless, common defining elements of this theoretical approach can be abstracted in works by the individual authors. In addition, it should also be noted that some authors do not use the term of liberalism, but idealism. In general, however, the *concept of idealism means liberalism of interwar period*.

The amplitudes of liberalistic dominance during historical development have appeared and then disappeared in cycles. The example is enthusiasm of the World War I in connection with establishing the League of Nations, after World War II in connection with the establishment of its successor – the United Nations, or the former Soviet Union in the early 90s of the 20th century.

Unlike realism, liberalism is not dominant in response to the question of what international relations are, but in answer to the question of how international relations should be. Therefore, liberalism itself can be regarded as **the holder of progress** in international relations. One of the most expressive examples of that was the effort of the U.S. President *Thomas Woodrow Wilson* to create the first universal international organisation to prevent war and ensure peace – the League of Nations.

When it comes to liberal principles, they put down their roots firmly in the national sphere of European countries (mainly Western and Northern) and in the North American continent. On the other hand they did not find a greater number of the supporters in the international arena.

Representatives of liberalism **reject power as a determinant factor in international politics**. According to them the policy of power can only be the actual product of ideas and these can be changed. Therefore, the world can also be changed by adjusting behaviour of the state. That shows that *the belief in progress is one of the elementary features of liberalism*. Among the most important representatives of liberalism are *Michael W. Doyle*, who based on the method of analogy, compares state and individuals, international and domestic policy. He claims that all citizens **are legally equal and have certain fundamental rights** and no-one but the legislative body of the state has the power to adopt the acts based on the decision made by people. These very rights of people should not be abused by this body representing the social contract between state and citizens through periodically recurring elections. The crucial one is the right to property, through which an individual may even possess the factors of production. The most effective tool of economic exchange is not a state-submitted and state-regulated exchange, but the market economy. Based on the above analogy it is important to see a state in the international environment:

1. Despite the qualities distinguishing one country from another (e.g. size of population, GNP, military power, etc.) *all the states are equal and have been granted*

- the certain natural rights (e.g. the right to exist, the principle of non-interference in domestic affairs);*
2. *International institutions have a coordinating role with regard to compliance with (international) law in international relations;*
 3. *Imperialism, or failure of the policies of balanced power is the cause of wars;*
 4. *Minimising regulations has a positive impact on mutual trade.* A proponent of this idea already in the 19th century was liberalistic representative *Richard Cobden*, who claimed that free trade could create more peaceful world order, since trade is mutually beneficial for all the involved.

Immanuel Kant – another representative of liberalism argued that liberal states are more peaceful in international relations with other liberal states. This thesis was taken over by the above-mentioned *Doyle*, who came up with the theory called democratic peace, according to which the liberal states tend to maintain friendly relations with other liberal states.

Francis Fukuyama, celebrating the triumph of liberalism over other theories, concluded that liberal states are inherently more stable and more peaceful in their international relations.

In addition, the theory of liberalism holds the **typical principle of respect for international law** as legally binding regulator of relations between actors of the international community, and unlike realism, liberalism recognises the fact that behaviour and activities of the entities other than states, in particular international organisations, international non-governmental organisations and multinational companies, have an impact on international relations. **Robert Keohane** and **Joseph Nye** as ones of the most important representatives of liberalism argue that international relations are the point where individual actors of international relations are interdependent through various relationships of mutual interaction. According to liberals the **typical feature** of international relations is not anarchy, as realists argue, but **interdependence**.

The U.S. President **Thomas Woodrow Wilson** can be considered as one of the biggest supporters of international inter-governmental organisations. As mentioned above, at his initiative the first universal international organisation in history – the League of Nations – was created. The aim of it was to avoid war. Thus, liberals seek to achieve peace as the supreme goal. We need a permanent effort to achieve this. In case of any dispute within the international community, it should be remedied through the efforts of all. The international community ought to be based on the collective security, not on the system of alliances as it was in the period before the World War I. This very poetic character of the above axioms in the context of history is what caused the “pejorative” name of liberalism – idealism.

VII. 3 Marxism

As clear from the name, the founder and the father of this school of thought is *Karl Marx*. However, we can say that Marxism never had a tendency to become school of thought in the theory of international relations. Its role, however, was to break through in the economic theory and then in practice – in behaviour of the individual states, or actually their top representatives.

As mentioned by some authors, **Karl Marx** was quite a prolific writer, but inconsistency of the views during his life caused relatively high number of diverse interpretations of his philosophical heritage.

Unlike realism, Marxism considers international relations as totalitarian in regards of their substance. Broken down into small, international relations are relations between rich and poor states in terms of hierarchy: centre – semi-periphery – periphery. This is similar scheme to one that works in a state, *i.e.* relations between economically strong and economically weak in terms of actual words by *Karl Marx* – the wealth on one side is the misery, agony and toil on the other side. It is materialistic interpretation of the world's running without taking the other factors into proper account.

The dominant subjects of international relations are not states or international organisations, but **classes** and the immanent part of their operation is a class struggle. This is a stark contrast with liberalism, which seeks to emphasise cooperation. However, according to Marxists collaboration between classes is virtually impossible, as it is **the struggle of two antagonistic classes – the struggle between exploiters (bourgeoisie) and exploitation (the proletariat)**. This is one of the fundamental theories of Marxism theses contained in the main work by *Karl Marx*, who wrote *The Communist Manifesto* together with **Fridriech Engels**.

The significance of Marxism can be observed in theoretical argumentation and preparation of its intellectual heir – neo-Marxism.

VII. 4 Alternative Theories

Behaviourism

One of the main protagonists of the second great debate brought fresh air to the theory of international relations associated with the effort to apply mathematics, economics and natural science methods in the theory of international relations. Significance of the behaviouristic approach can be more obvious in the application and methodological level, since this very approach attempted to use different models of the game to explain international relations (*e.g.* theory of the zero-sum game, theory of the game with non-zero sum or theory of coward game). One could say that this very feature, *i.e.* applicatory and methodological novelty, meant that behaviourism, or more precisely its methods have been incorporated into other paradigms, especially in realism and liberalism.

Neo-realism

Neo-realism as one of the protagonists of the third great debate is thought to be an heir of its predecessor – realism. It follows it but also brings something new. Neo-realism does not consider international relations as the system based on anarchy, but as the system, the functioning of which is pre-defined by its structure influencing the actions of individual actors of the international community.

As in case of other philosophical orientations, neo-realism is not a monolithic set of ideas, but the views of its representatives are often quite different. The representatives of neo-realism are considered the following, already mentioned theorists: **Kenneth N. Waltz** and **John J. Mearsheimer** but also **Robert Gilpin** or **Joseph Grieco**.

Neo-liberalism

Another protagonist of the third great debate and the thought successor of liberalism focuses on the importance, role and activities of international intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations and their influence on international relations, which according to neo-liberalists is an appropriate platform to improve and deepen international cooperation in order to overcome the differences between the various international relations. It also tries to achieve so called democratic peace, whereas neo-liberalists declare that democracy actually means a framework for peace because democracies are significantly less likely to use force, their behaviour is transparent and legible and they are willing to compromise in the event of a controversial issue.

Neo-Marxism

Marxism as well as neo-Marxism perceives functioning of international relations through the economic prism. The basic actors are classes and their struggle in the functioning of the capitalist world. This fundamental axiom of Marxism is essentially the typical feature for the whole variety of neo-Marxist leaders and streams, and in comparison with other philosophical movements its disunity of thoughts in individual streams of neo-Marxism is even more pronounced.

The fourth grand debate

As previously mentioned the period since the 80s of the 20th century has been the period with the emergence of new philosophical approaches. On the other hand it should be noted that this does not automatically lead to their application in practice, or actually that their importance in the system of theories of international relations has grown. Among the modern theories of international relations the following ones can be classified: social constructivism, post-modernism, post-colonialism, feminism and historical sociology.

VIII. History of International Relations

Observation of the historical development of international relations allows us to understand the patterns of functioning, the transformation of world development as well as the development of relations between the participants, *i.e.* States.

Human society, from its beginnings did not develop as a whole with its mutual relations, but rather consisted of a number of groups and units which were organised either by gender or economy and did not feel the need for mutual relationships. Gradually, with the division of labour came the mutual acquaintance and recognition of other tribes and recognition of themselves. In addition to bartering, however, it brought conflicts, and consequently the wars. And so, throughout history we come across the elimination of tribes and nations that is constantly repeated in various stages of development.

We can talk about international relations in today's terms from about the **16th century**, which is considered to be **the period of the international community** with regard to the creation of new states. The final breakthrough, however, reported the 30-year war and peace arrangement was reached after **the Congress of Westphalia in 1648**. A key role in international relations played a European Christian civilisation, which, however, gradually lost its primacy. Almost precisely every century, a country that has the power and will to reshape the international system to suit its needs and its shared values comes to the fore.

It was **France** in the **17th century** and a man who moved the world was **Cardinal Richelieu**, who introduced a modern approach to international relations based on *the nation-state* with the highest motive, *the national interest* – ***raison d'état***.

In the **18th and 19th centuries**, the United Kingdom took over the role by introducing **the theory of balance of power**.

In the **19th century**, **Metternich's Austria** brought some changes to the international relations, but was negated by **Bismarck's Germany** with its cold-blooded game of **power politics**.

The 20th century brought dominance to the **USA**, which affected international relations not only decisively but also ambivalently.

Historically, the greatest impact on the stabilisation forces in Europe and its balance had the following events:

1. ***Peace of Westphalia after the 30-year war in 1618-48***
 - a) the first division of spheres of influence in Europe
 - b) a new concept of the state as a single and later a major player in international relations – recognition of state sovereignty as a principle of international law
 - c) the European colonisation of the world – Completion in the late 19th century
 - d) France and Great Britain gradually got to the fore and a rivalry of their hegemony especially in the colonies began.
2. ***Congress in Vienna after the Napoleonic Wars in 1814-15***
 - a) period 1815-1914 was the period of the “European concert”, five super powers played a decisive role: Great Britain, France, Russia, Austria-Hungary and Prussia, which determined the balance; Spain, the Netherlands and Sweden lost their super power status.
 - b) Great Britain – so called balancer in international relations – always opted for the weaker party to ensure balance by a defeat of a stronger, mostly against France, which was its main rival; it skillfully used the mutual struggle in Europe to obtain its overseas territories
 - c) the end of the 19th century – the emergence of a strong Germany, which was brought under Austria-Hungary – gradually became the strongest European super power, contributed to the creation of the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy)
 - d) formation of the second centre of super power of Triple Entente as a counter-balance (Great Britain, France, Russia) Triple Alliance
 - e) these two blocks became crucial “players” in international relations, the differences between them led to World War I
3. ***The emergence of the bipolar division of the world after World War I but especially after World War II***
 - a) Great Britain lost its position, the USA came to the fore, have entered into a war with Germany for fear of its victory and subsequent changes in the global balance of power
 - b) Asia gradually begins to penetrate into international relations
 - c) the creation of so-called Versailles-Washington system – the peace treaties of 1919 ensured the creation of the Versailles system, which determined the balance of power in Europe and by signing the Washington Treaty in 1922 spheres of influence in the Far East were determined
 - d) the rise of fascism in Germany and Italy, whose aim was to change the unfavourable balance of power in relation to France and Great Britain in their own favour, which led to the emergence of World War II
 - e) after World War II in 1945, there was a bipolar division of the world into East – West, socialism – capitalism, the USA and the Soviet Union and its allies became super powers, bipolarity led to feverish arms race, the Cold War – the escalation of tension between the two blocs
 - f) neutralisation of China

- g) territorial ambitions of the USSR were limited by signed Treaties at Yalta.
4. **Disintegration of the bipolar division of the world at the end of the 1980s and the formation of new strategic and political balance**
- a) disintegration of the Soviet bloc, the fall of totalitarian regimes, the disintegration of the USSR and the creation of The Commonwealth of Independent States
- b) introduction of market economy in the countries of the Soviet bloc, building of a political system based on pluralism and parliamentarianism, search for possibilities of their security – their integration into European and transatlantic structures – their membership in the EU and NATO.

VIII. 1 Period from the Earliest Times to the Year 1648

Antiquity

In ancient times, there were a number of cultural and power centres established between geographically proximate states e.g. Middle East, China and the Greek city-states. Rules of conduct in their mutual relations had regional, local character. The most powerful member of such group was trying to consolidate its position in a military as well as peaceful manner, for example, by **signing international agreements**, which were **unequal**, their goal was to strengthen and reinforce the status of this state in a certain geographical area. Typical signatories of such agreements was Rome which wanted to take over the then known world (peace treaties, extradition, about mutual non-aggression, of friendship, their content was always accompanied by a divine or secular system guarantees such as dynastic marriage, exchange of hostages). During this period, however, we already come across with *ad hoc* diplomatic representation.

Diplomatic relations already existed in Mesopotamia 3000 years B.C. (especially in the Assyrian Empire, as a part of Mesopotamia in a broader sense – it dominated modern technologies, predominance in military matters, advanced government, architecture and art, unified legal rules – “International relations are determined by the Gods and sovereigns are only instruments of divine will”) and through *ad hoc* ambassadors they were also held in ancient India, China (where during a Zhou Dynasty, 1000 years B.C., there were about 130 large feudal states which were subject to central monarchy of which five major power centres were formed and a tendency of bipolarity began to show – the Northern Alliance led by Zhou monarchy against the South led by Chu dynasty – *summits were held every 5 years – diplomatic peculiarity of this period*), the Greek city-states (there were around 1200 them, here other political units played an important role (Delphi maritime association under the hegemony of Athens) and colonies – later also prone to bipolar – Athens and Sparta. Although the role of diplomatic representatives changed over time, *from the beginning, ambassadors acted as representatives of their sovereign* and were the liaison persons regularly reporting on events and political situation in the given state. Their work was associated with certain privileges and immunities; they were entitled to the traditional honour ceremony and formality. States in clusters developed the rules of war, which at the time was considered as an ordinary means of policy. E.g. Rome had developed a concept of so called **just wars**, but in retrospect they were very cruel wars.

We can therefore talk about common features of mutual relations (with China and Greece):

- States passed from mutual interests and cooperation to conflicts and wars
- Political relations had military and diplomatic character, the first political standards of conduct and rights appeared
- The main attribute of power was force
- There were weaker and stronger units within clusters – the emergence of two types of relations a) **Power conflict** and b) **Alliance**
- In both systems there were all the basic forms of the structure of international relations – multi-polarity, bipolarity and hegemonic arrangement.

Middle Ages

Similar features in international relations can be found in medieval Europe, the main actors were the dynastic states, the idea of united Christian Europe was integrating, the conflict between secular power (Emperor) and the spiritual power (the Pope) as well as other mutual disputes amongst rulers themselves had a disintegrating influence.

It was the imperial system with two peaks – the emperor and the pope whose blessing secular power legitimated it. The second feature was feudal system where neither emperor nor kings were sovereign rulers of their territory.

New states such as the Eastern Roman Empire rise from the ruins of the Roman Empire after its collapse in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., but the power centres such as China, India, Arab caliphates, Kievan Rus, whose mutual relationships were re-addressed by specific rules applicable to given geographic areas, maintained their position.

The emperor, who was at the top of the European Community, was crowned by the pope, from which other states derived their power. However, Christianity was dominant. In international relations, however, we can observe dualism within which the Pope and the Emperor of the Roman Empire fought for domination in the Christian world. By the 14th century, the church played an important role in international relations. The church was the guardian and guarantor of accepted commitments, the Pope was the supreme arbiter and the depository of the concluded international treaties. Church councils not only addressed actual theological and ecclesiastical issues, gradually the secular rulers of states began to participate and deal with serious issues.

Since the 13th century there is a decline of the feudal system and the first independent states begin to emerge in Europe as political, power and territorial entities managed by central governments that did not recognise any other secular or ecclesiastical power over them. Three inventions also had a significant impact – firearms, the compass, printing press (which prompted the need for more resources, colonisation of the world – the first colonial war between Portugal and Castile 1474-9 for Morocco, Guinea and Canary Islands / ending in peace for lack of forces / and in 1493, the first

division of the world by Pope Alexander VI – West to Spain and the East to Portugal – had changed the mode of expression, proliferation and storage of human ideas).

Italian city-states of **Florence, Genoa, Pisa, Milan and especially Venice** laid the foundation of modern diplomacy. At the time of their biggest boom, these cities represented major centres of trade, but they were small and militarily weak, and thus could not rely on military force as a way to protect their foreign political interests. They were forced to secure these interests through negotiation or other peaceful means. The first permanent diplomatic mission was established **by the city-state of Milan in 1455 in Genoa**, in 1460 it was the envoy of the Duke of Savoy in Rome, Venice did so in 1495 at the court of Emperor Maximilian, the Holy See in Venice in 1500 *etc.* From the 15th century, this practice goes beyond the Italian city-states, and is becoming the general practice. After the Peace of Westphalia, this institute became a general phenomenon in Europe and spread into other parts of the world.

What did not change was the understanding of wars and the use of force in inter-state relations, **the war** was still considered to be **the common means of foreign policy**. If we do not count attempts of the Church in the 11th and 12th centuries to restrict the use of certain types of weapons, then the first comprehensive attempt to modify the rules of warfare were the Hague Peace Conferences in 1899 and 1907.

The new nation-states bring new religions and therefore the wars in the 15th and 16th centuries are the wars to gain religious hegemony in Europe. The highlight was a 30-year war ending by so called **Peace of Westphalia of 1648**, which **put an end to the Christian world led by the Pope and the Emperor**. *The Congress, which adopted Treaties of Peace*, brought together representatives from different European countries and *discussed the adjustments rules mutual relations, which was something new in the field*. They agreed on a number of territorial changes, on the creation of a new political map of Europe, 322 German States were founded and France, Sweden, the Netherlands had become the new super powers. The principle of *pacta sunt servanda*, which religious character gradually changed to secular, continued to be applicable in international relations. The development of trade led to intensified diplomatic relations between states and *ad hoc* diplomacy changed into permanent diplomatic representations through sustained missions.

In the **15th century**, the Habsburg dynasty raised almost permanent claim to the imperial crown and through the sophisticated wedding policy won the Spanish crown too and so the emperor could have a taste of a kind of universality.

In the **16th century, Emperor Charles V** strengthened the imperial authority to rise to the creation of the Central European Empire (Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Austria, Germany, Northern Italy, East of France, Belgium and the Netherlands), but it was foiled by the Reformation, under which small princes turned away from the emperor and Rome in Protestant countries, thus **came the turning away from the universality of the Church**.

European system of power balance was established **in the 17th century after the collapse of the Holy Roman Empire**, which represented the desire for **universality** (one God reigns in heaven, one sovereign governs the secular sphere, and one pope in the universal church) which had, until its collapse, the possibility to dominate Europe, but the reality was different. In relation to Europe, France and Great Britain stood on the periphery.

Princes fought the entire 18th century but not for the establishment of international order. The position of power drastically changed and a few of them, like Sweden and Spain fell to the second-class status, while Poland had disappeared from maps of Europe, Russia (did not participate in the Peace of Westphalia) and Prussia (played an insignificant role) became super powers. Central Europe was facing France from the west, Russia from the east and Prussia echoed in the middle. Although at first glance it looked like anarchy, all states fought in order to strengthen their own power, but none was strong enough to create an empire and impose their will on everyone else. If the threat of the empire appeared, other states had come together to form a coalition against it. There was again no theory of international relations, but ordinary protection of their own interests.

France

European states needed to find a principle that would justify their heretical behaviour. They found it in **the concept of *raison d'état* and the balance of power**, which were related to each other. According to the *raison d'état* welfare of the state justified all the means used in its favour. Universal morality of the Middle Ages was replaced by the national interest. This principle was fully demonstrated in France, the first European national state and **Cardinal Richelieu** became its administrator, the first minister of France during 1624-42. He became the father of the modern state; few statesmen had more impact on history than he did. He not only founded the principle of *raison d'état* but also consistently applied it. He tended to prevent the Habsburgs from dominating Europe, left a legacy that led his followers to the promotion of French primacy in Europe over the next 200 years, but failed and so the theory of balance of power became the setting principle of international relations.

At the early time of Cardinal Richelieu's government, the Emperor of St. Roman Empire Ferdinand II tried to revive Catholic universality, exterminate Protestants and control principalities in central Europe. This policy led to a 30-year war, one of the most brutal and destructive wars in human history. After the war, Central Europe was devastated and Germany lost 1/3 of the population. During this time in France, Cardinal Richelieu introduced principle of *raison d'état* into a foreign policy, which was subsequently adopted by other European states. Cardinal did not understand Ferdinand's motive in the light of religion, *i.e.* Cardinal was meant to welcome Ferdinand's motive, but he saw a geopolitical threat to the security of France instead rather than a religious act, namely the Austrian political manoeuvre, which should have led to domination of

Central Europe and was meant to move France to a side track. France was in fact surrounded by a Habsburg territory, and therefore willing to ally with Protestants and use the situation to their advantage.

Ferdinand never thought of concluding a treaty with the Protestant Swedes and Muslim Turks, he would never admit that God's goals could be achieved by other means rather than moral. According to him, **the State existed to serve the church and not vice versa**. He considered his duty to crush the Protestants, although some *modus vivendi* would be for the benefit of his empire. **Cardinal would definitely take the chance** that Ferdinand had in 1629, when the Protestant princes were willing to accept the political domination of the Habsburgs, provided that they are able to exercise their faith and will be able to leave the territory conquered during the Catholic Reformation. **Ferdinand, however, refused.**

Cardinal Richelieu, however, released **so called Piece of Alais in 1629**, which guaranteed religious freedom to French Protestants, and thus avoided internal conflict in his country. Given that Ferdinand did not understand interests of his empire but promoted religious interests, Cardinal began to encourage the German Protestant princes against the emperor, in order to prevent the formation of the empire on its borders. The only criterion of his actions was to serve for the interests of France. After the alliance with Protestants he subsequently made an agreement with the Ottoman Empire, prolonged the war to exhaust the Habsburgs and supported the enemies of his enemies. He used all legal arguments for his goals. In 1635, the war could have ended in a compromise, but it was unacceptable for Cardinal. The only acceptable outcome for him was that the French king becomes equally strong, if not stronger, than the Habsburg emperor.

The success of the *raison d'état* policy depended on the ability to estimate power relations. This revolutionary and cold-blooded doctrine initially met with resistance, but later prevailed. Cardinal subordinated not only religion but also morality to this doctrine. (**"The policy of national self-interest is the highest moral law"**). It would not, however, have succeeded, if Cardinal would have failed to adapt his tactics to his strategy, so called Machiavellian "the end justifies the means". France expanded its territory, and had become the dominant power and the principle of *raison d'état* was the guiding principle of European diplomacy.

Raison d'état had no in-built limits. Cardinal left behind a strong state, which had predominance also in international relations. Louis XIV used the security system of his country for the conquest and scared the rest of Europe, which responded by the formation of anti-French coalition that foiled his intentions.

Raison d'état may lead to an attempt to gain primacy or to achieve balance (European balance of power had arisen from an attempt to hold back the French expansion), explained the behaviour of individual states, but did not answer the question of world order. The world that came to existence thanks to Cardinal, had not been limited by the code of ethics, the good of the state became its highest value.

Cardinal's influence on the history of France can be evaluated positively, which can not be said of Central Europe. Cardinal feared the union of Central Europe and thus prevented its rise. One can also say that for two centuries he prevented the unification of Germany. Two centuries after Cardinal, France remained the most influential European country and is an important factor in international politics to this day.

VIII. 2 Period from 1648 to 1815

England

The principle of balance of power had been strengthened thanks to England, the only state having its foreign policy aimed at maintaining peace, based on the fact that they always joined the weaker side. Its goals and national interests had always been to restore balance, its *raison d'état* did not require expansion into Europe, and with respect to Europe it did not request anything else but to prevent any state to gain control. The father of this policy was William III of Orange, native Dutchman who, after gaining the throne of England wanted to foil everything Louis XIV did. So various British-led coalitions established the balance of power against France.

Historical events:

Habeas Corpus Act was adopted in 1679 (the first instrument formulating the independence of the court from a sovereign), according to which no one could be charged and convicted without proving their guilt by ordinary courts, it also served as the basis for the separation of the judiciary power from the executive (monarch).

Revolution in 1688 (the so-called "Glorious Revolution"), which had peacefully overthrown a catholic, the last Stuart – James II (who tried to re-establish absolutism after Cromwell) caused for England to get into direct confrontation with the French Louis XIV.

English Protestant replacement for James II was his son in law, William III of Orange, who stood at the beginning of the modern constitutional monarchy proclaimed and confirmed **in 1689 by adopting The Bill of Rights** (Parliament confirmed rights, the basis for the separation of legislative and executive power):

- Power in the hands of parliament and government, sovereign only representative function
- The division of parliament to two chambers,
- Parliamentary immunity for opinions expressed in relation to the performance of office
- Government is formed by the party which wins the election, Parliament has legislative power only
- The opposition to criticise the government and to induce the enhancement ratios in the country, is defined.

England got straight into the war with William III for the territory of Spanish Netherlands, contemporary Belgium. William III knew that, if Louis XIV is able to occupy this territory, it will end the independence of the Netherlands and England will be threatened too, because of the territory being so close, as well as increase of the prospect of French domination in Europe. Therefore he sent the English army against France. **William III** thus became **the leader of the battle against Louis XIV**. William III of Orange had a will of iron and was extremely bright. He knew that if France gained the territory of Spain and its possessions, *i.e.* also contemporary Belgium, it would obtain a dominant position; it would become a super power, which would not be defeated by any coalition of other countries. The French expansion was therefore a direct threat to England, the Netherlands and other countries. To prevent this, **he was looking for partners to create the strongest and the largest coalition forces against one super power**, consisting of England, the Netherlands, Sweden, Spain, Savoy, Saxony and Austria. Louis XIV fought against them nearly a quarter of the century but with the result that the French *raison d'état* was defeated by self-interests of other states. France remained the most powerful country in Europe, but without domination over others. That was a **textbook example** of the balance of power principle.

William III was not against negotiations with Louis XIV, only in case, that it should serve the balance of power. Great Britain had allied with the Habsburgs against France, since the influence of Austria at that time was weak. William III counted on the fact that he will manage to keep a balance between the Habsburgs and Bourbons, and thus the balance in Europe.

Great Britain, just like America later, was tuned in **isolationist manner in relation to the balance of power on the continent**: "It is useless to fight the hypothetical risk, against something that any country could do in the future." William III (Just like Theodore Roosevelt in America) warned his people that their safety depends on the balance of power on the continent. And he was understood earlier than Theodore Roosevelt in America, and later **after his death**, the view prevailed that the balance of power is one of the original, eternal principles of British policy, an essential condition for the prosperity of this island and why Britain should seek to maintain or restore it.

In Great Britain, there were two ways of implementing this policy based on two lines of thought:

1. *Whigs* wanted Britain to be involved only if the balance was disrupted and only until the breach is resolved
2. *Tories* argued that Britain had a duty not only to protect, but to create the balance.

Just like the America of the 20th century, the inhabitants of this island had to be persuaded that their security requires sustained engagement and not isolation.

Great Britain, represented by Prime Minister William E. Gladstone laid the foundation of collective security, although with an unsuccessful end. Great Britain was the tip on the scales and thus for two centuries actually preserved freedom in Europe. At

the beginning of the 19th century, Great Britain reversed its unsystematic policy of balance of power to conscious intention.

Russia, France

Historical events:

- *During the reign of Louis XVI the economy of France declines,*
- **Over 175 years, the King held an assembly of the Estates-General (Les États-Généraux) in which he sought understanding and additional funding**
- **Members of Parliament of the Third Estate demanded equality with the other two states, they announced themselves for the National Assembly on 14 July 1789** at the background of Bastille conquest – symbol of absolutism (when the Duke de Liancourt announced attack to the king, he exclaimed: “This is mutiny!” but the Duke answered, “No, Your Majesty, it’s a revolution!”)
- **Set the end of the monarchy and the establishment of the Republic**
- **Password: liberty – equality – fraternity**
- **Adoption of a new constitution** – members elected by the citizens, equality before the law, freedom of speech, press, assembly and religion.

After the French Revolution 14 July 1789, France fought with almost the whole of Europe to save the revolution and expand the republican ideals on the continent. It established its satellites in the Rhineland, Italy, and Spain, weakened Austria, and relegated Prussia to a secondary world power. Russia was the only obstacle, which also gave rise to hopes and fears. **Russia** had been tremendously expansive, at the beginning of the 18th century, Dnieper formed boundaries and 100 years later, it was already Vistula, about 800 km further. At the end of the century it became a major player in the division of Poland. In Russia, everything depended on the Tsar and his whims.

In 1804, the Tsar of Russia **Alexander I** turned to William Pitt, the British Prime Minister with a **proposal for a general peace**. Alexander I was much influenced by Enlightenment proponents (Enlighteners considered an international system as part of the universe, which acts as a great mechanism, never stops and inexorably leads to a better world. Voltaire stated: “Europe – a kind of great republic divided into several states ... that will live in harmony” Charles Louis Montesquieu stated that “Europe is one country, which consists of several provinces.” Clearly they confused result for intention.), he lived in the idea that he is the moral conscience of Europe. *He called on all States to put an end to feudalism, to establish a constitutional government, to refrain from using force and to submit their disputes for solution to arbitration. He became a precursor of the ideas of Woodrow Wilson.* William **Pitt** was in the unenviable position when he realised that he needs Russian support against Napoleon Bonaparte. On the other hand, he was not interested in one super power to be replaced by another; he did not want to see Russia become an arbiter of Europe. He responded to the invitation, but proposed a balance of power that was necessary to create. He saw the main cause of instability in Central Europe, which attracted France to raid and suggested that Great

Britain, Prussia, Austria and Russia guaranteed new territorial arrangement in Europe and created an alliance against French aggression.

At the end of the Napoleonic wars, Europe was willing to propose an international order based on the principles of balance of power, but was able to do it only once. Pitt's allies learned that power is not a reliable guide to the international order; *the balance works best when it is based on equal values*. **Power without legitimacy seduces power tests, legitimacy without power to empty poses.** Vienna Congress successfully combined these elements in the years 1814-15, which began a century that was not interrupted by any general war.

Germany

Cardinal Richelieu foiled the plans of the Habsburgs; the Holy Roman Empire was split between 322 sovereigns, each of which could lead their own independent foreign policy. **Germany did not become a nation-state**, *did not create a national political culture, it became the battleground of majority of European wars, many of which started by France. Germany missed the first wave of creation of colonies overseas. When finally united, it had so little experience with defining its own national interest, that it caused many of the worst tragedies of the 20th century.*

The USA

Since its establishment, the USA used otherwise despised balance of power where they considered it convenient due to the fact that none of the European countries could threaten. They were able to manoeuvre between France and Great Britain in order to remain independent while expanding their territory (Thomas Jefferson: "The Napoleonic wars – the fight of a tyrant on land with a tyrant of the ocean").

In their early period, they formed **policy of non-alignment**, used neutrality as a tool for negotiation. From the beginning, they sought to expand to different parts of America, *after 1794 they concluded several agreements favourable to themselves, which defined the borders with Canada and Florida, in 1803 by so called Louisiana purchase they gained territory from France to the west of the Mississippi River (Napoleon Bonaparte, who realised the sale, said "this area will ensure the U.S. power forever, I just gave England a maritime rival who will beat it sooner or later")*.

American statesmen did not see a contradiction between the condemnation power politics of Europe and its territorial expansion over the American continent, which they considered their internal affair.

In September **1814, the winners of the Napoleonic Wars met in Vienna** to decide on post-war arrangements of the continent, because the need to reshape the in-

ternational order had become even more urgent. **Austria** was represented by **Mett-
nich**, **Prussia** by prince Karl August **von Hardenberg** at the order of the king, **France**
sent a diplomat and foreign minister Charles-Maurice de **Talleyrand**, who disposed of
Luis' trust and **Russia** was represented by the **Tsar Alexander I** himself, **Great Britain**
was represented by foreign minister **Lord Castlereagh**. The participants reached what
was their aim. After the Congress of Vienna, **Europe experienced the longest period
of peace in its history**. There was no war between the super powers for 40 years, after
the Crimean War of 1853-1856; there was no general conflict for the following 60 years.
The post-war arrangement resembled Pitt's proposal nearly 100-percent (*the empow-
erment of Austria took place in Italy, Prussia in Germany, the Netherlands received the Aus-
trian Netherlands that is contemporary Belgium, France gave up all territories conquered
and accepted pre-revolution old borders. Russia received central part of Poland, Great
Britain acquired Malta and the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa*). The paradox is that
this international order was reportedly based on a maximum balance of power than
any other, but least relied on it, too. The reason was the balance that was very difficult
to overthrow. The most important reason was the recognition of the shared values of
all parties. The balance was not only physical, but also moral. The system, developed
at the Vienna (waltz) Congress was **based on three policy principles**:

- a) **Restoration** (boundaries renewal of 1792),
- b) **Legitimacy** (legitimacy of monarchical absolutist claims on government)
- c) **Solidarity** (common interest of conservative states to avert revolutionary ide-
as – Holy Alliance).

Austria, Germany, Prussia

The Habsburgs did not reach hegemony in Central Europe after 30-year war, Aus-
tria abandoned its attempts to rule over Germany, in 1806 the Holy Roman Empire
was abolished, Austria, however, still considered itself to be the first state among
equals, did not want to leave this task to Prussia. *Prussia threatened the Austrian de-
mands on Germany for quite a while. Its reckless diplomacy, war, loyalty and sense of dis-
cipline altered Prussia during the following 100 years from the Principality of secondary
power, while the smallest, and yet most feared military super power.*

Germany was weak and fragmented from the 30-year war, and thus constantly
tempted France especially, to expand in it. The French feared a unified Germany, which
could defeat France and dominate Europe, suggesting that, whether Germany was
strong or weak, it had always been a threat to peace.

**The participants of Vienna Congress understood that if there is to be peace
and stability in Central Europe, they must demolish what Cardinal Richelieu built
in the 17th century.** It was a weak fragmented Central Europe, which France consid-
ered the bait for its own raid. Transformation occurred mainly in Germany, where by
then more than 300 states united and joined into 30 of them and formed a new entity.
The German Association, which was strong enough to be invaded by France and too

decentralised to be able to threaten other countries. Austria and Prussia became leading states, followed by medium-sized countries such as Saxony and Bavaria.

Winners participating in Congress managed to avoid the mistakes which later became fatal for the Versailles Treaty after World War I:

- **Winners in building peace arrangement must pass from the irreconcilability in relation to the defeated, which is necessary for its defeat in order to install reconciliation that is necessary to achieve peace;**
- **Winners must keep a tight rein on the country being dissatisfied with this arrangement and has a sense of grievance, from where there is only a short step that this country gain almost automatic support of the discontented defeated party.**

Vienna Congress managed it, even though to be generous to France, which in the past tried to take control of many territories, was not easy, and concluded that it is better for a general peace, if France is at least partially satisfied and does not crave revenge. And already in 1818, France was admitted to the convention and participated in regular meetings of heads of states of member countries, which had become essentially a kind of European government.

Britain believed that there is no need for any formal guarantees that would still not provide more than speculation based on common sense. Central European countries, however, insisted on concrete guarantees in respect of their current fate, when for nearly 150 years they had been victims of wars. Austria felt most threatened due to its multiethnic empire and the currents of liberalism and nationalism. That was the impetus for the establishment of the Quadruple Alliance (Prussia, Austria, Russia, Great Britain), whose aim was to prevent French aggression. In **September 1815, there is an establishment of the Holy Alliance** (Prussia, Austria, and Russia) in order to unify conservative monarchs against impending revolutions. The Russian Tsar took the initiative for its establishment, who could not give up his self-appointed mission to reshape the international system and to reform its participants. *The Tsar was too intoxicated by the feeling of victory and fascinated by religion and conservative values and thus suggested that the present international system to be fundamentally changed and based on the truths of eternal religion. The Austrian emperor knew that the Tsar can not joined nor reject, not to allow him to act on his own.* Metternich therefore re-wrote tsar's proposal and created the Holy Alliance, where **religious imperative** was interpreted as commitment of signatories that the domestic political **status quo** in Europe **will be maintained**. For the first time in history, the powers united on a common approach. The Holy Alliance united monarchs in the fight against revolution, but also made them commit to act until after they have reached a compliance, **established moral restraint** in international relations.

VIII. 3 European Concert Period 1815 – 1918

The USA

In foreign policy of the USA, **Monroe Doctrine of 1823** was important, which stated that not only the **USA can not get involved in European power politics** (that they would not interfere in European disputes), **but Europe must not interfere in the USA matters** – thus the entire Western Hemisphere, the USA will consider any expansion of the European power in this part of the country as a threat to their peace and security, and will thus protect the territory against aggression and war (*in the background, the effort of Great Britain to prevent the European powers of the Holy Alliance – Prussia, Russia, Austria, to master the Spanish colonies in Latin America*). What America condemned in Europe, it used it for expansion of its business and the impact of territorial annexation – it considered its expansion for foreign policy. **Its foreign policy was to have no foreign policy.**

Monroe doctrine thus became **the guiding principle of the US foreign policy in the 19th century**. Its meaning was changing and 100 years after its declaration, it was used to justify USA expansion in the Western Hemisphere (*e.g. the need to attach an independent Texas to the USA – Texas should not become an ally or a colony of a foreign power, because they would be a threat to the security of America*). Through its policy, the USA managed to become **the most powerful country in the world** and signed themselves into the club of super powers.

Until the early 20th century thus foreign policy of **isolationism** prevailed in the USA, but were subsequently drawn into the world events, in two world wars for two reasons: the rapid growth of U.S. power and the gradual collapse of the international system, centre of which was Europe. Dominant figures in U.S. foreign policy or of building international relations were Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson.

Theodore Roosevelt was an **advocate of the balance of power**, America must be a player in world politics, as required by the national interests, and without its participation there would be no balance of power.

Woodrow Wilson understood **the participation of America** in world affairs to be the **propagator of its principles throughout the world** rather than the one demanding power. During his presidential term, the USA was the major participant in world politics, to promote principles obvious for the Americans, but for the continent diplomats were revolutionary:

- **Peace depends on the spread of democracy**
- **States must be judged under the same rules as individuals**
- **Adherence to the Universal law is in the U.S. national interest.**

He was the originator of the idea of the universal world organisation – the League of Nations, whose role was to maintain peace based on the collective security system rather than through alliances.

Austria, Germany, Prussia

Let us go back to Metternich, who had excellent diplomatic skills, thanks to which, he was able to save still threatened Austria of war for another 100 years. He had moderate goals, after the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte in Russia; he recognised that Russia represents a potential long-term threat. Along with **Lord Castlereagh and William Pitt** (British Prime Ministers) **he believed that a strong central Europe is a precondition for European stability**. We can find some parallels in the position and views of Metternich and Woodrow Wilson. *Metternich considered domestic institutions to be governing international relations, like Woodrow Wilson, who, however, believed that democracies will be inherently peaceful and reasonable, while Metternich considered them dangerous and unpredictable. He identified peace with legitimate reign and expected that if the states did not keep the peace, they at least preserved the basic structure of international relations. Metternich tried to institutionalise the ancient values, while Woodrow Wilson revolutionary new values. According to the Metternich law, they simply existed naturally, while according to Woodrow Wilson, democratic values could be enacted, and then transferred to global institutions. In the period after the congress, Metternich played a crucial role in the management of international relations, explained the requirements of the Holy Alliance, creating a moral consensus policy, sought to avoid crises, and those who could no longer be stopped from solving a support of the country that was willing to bear the burden of confrontation (Great Britain against France in the Netherlands, Great Britain and France against Russia in the Balkans and smaller German states against Prussia).*

Although Austria needed Russia against France, it feared it at the same time, particularly for Tsar's Crusader inclinations and so Metternich did not try to tame the Russian aggression, but to limit its ambitions. While Great Britain and its Lord Castlereagh were willing to resist only by a direct attack, Metternich could not risk it because of the location of his country, therefore remained close to the Tsar and tried to prevent his threats. He considered moderation a philosophical virtue and practical necessity: "It is more important to eliminate requirements of others as to promote our own. The less we require, the more we gain." Whenever possible, he tried to eliminate Tsar's crusader plans whenever possible by time-consuming consultations. Another element of his strategy was conservative unity, whenever the necessity emerged, he applied juggling. Metternich had to deal with the dilemma, that the more they converge with the tsar, the greater the risk of his relationship with Great Britain and the greater was this risk, the more he had to converge with the tsar, not to get into isolation.

Great Britain did not want to intervene in crises before they began to represent a direct threat and so **Lord Castlereagh**, to mitigate their stance, suggested **periodic meetings – conferences of foreign ministers, who evaluated European affairs**. Although it was a British initiative at the first Congress in 1818, Great Britain indicated its reluctance, because it was close to the concept of the united Europe, with which Great Britain disagreed. Thus, paradoxically, at the first congress, France was admitted

into the system and Britain left and so remained aside of its proposed system. *We see parallels 100 years later in the United States and the League of Nations proposed by President Woodrow Wilson. The attempt to establish a general system of collective security for domestic political barriers and historical traditions had failed. Both statesmen were convinced that the best way to defend the interest of maintaining collective security is to participate in decisions affecting the international order and to organise resistance against the violation of peace. Both statesmen failed to bring their country into the system of collective security, because they could not convince their organisations about the threat of foreseeable danger.*

Lord Castlereagh eventually found himself at an impasse and could not find his way out. Four days before he committed suicide he said to the king: "Sir, you need to say goodbye to Europe, only the two of us, who rescued her, know it. No one will understand continental affairs after I am gone."

Austria became more dependent on Russia and Metternich himself did not know how long he will be able to keep Russia at bay in the Balkans.

The Balkans question, however, did not disappear and became the cause of the **Crimean War in 1853-56**. The first time since the Napoleonic wars was a military conflict between the super powers induced once again by France. In 1852 Napoleon III convinced the Turkish Sultan to grant him the title Defender of Christians in the Ottoman Empire, which outraged the Russian Tsar Nicholas I given he traditionally played this role. The Tsar asked Sultan to grant him the title, too. Sultan, however, refused and Russia broke diplomatic relations with him. Austria, which could lose the most by the war suggested, that France and Russia were the protectors of the Christians together, but it was rejected by the British side, which also sent Royal Navy into the Black Sea. This encouraged Turkey and declared war on Russia. Great Britain and France stood on the side of Turkey. Religious issues were just a pretext of war. The Tsar wanted to make an ancient dream come true, to dominate Sevastopol and the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. France sensed a way out of isolation by weakening Russia and to break the Holy Alliance. Great Britain wanted to foil Russia's access to the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. Austria first declared neutrality, but later gave the Tsar an ultimatum for Russia to withdraw from Moldavia and Wallachia (today's Romania), which became an incentive to end the war. The death of Tsar Nicholas I decided on the end of the war, the fall of Sevastopol in September 1855, and the threat that Austria joins the war on the side of the Allies. The new Tsar Alexander II adopted an ultimatum of the Western powers in January 1856. In the subsequent Paris peace Russia and Turkey recognised the neutrality of the Black Sea and the independence of the Romanian Principalities. Russia gave up claims to the Straits; Turkey came under the protection of the super powers. *(Losing the war forced the tsar to the implementation of reforms that would reduce country's lagging behind the Western countries. Alexander II abolished Serfdom in 1861, reformed the state administration, education and justice and as it goes in Russia, became a victim of the assassination after merit.)* Austria then threw away friendship with Russia, which gave Russia the opportunity to return to a policy based on geopolitical advantages and it was clear that in the future, the two countries will meet about the fate of the Balkans.

Why Vienna arrangement lasted the whole 50 years?

Three super powers – Austria, Prussia and Russia considered their unity a key principle against French domination in Europe. Austria, however, in the Crimean War, stood in its awkward position on the side of France (which wanted to undermine the position of Austria in Italy) and Great Britain (which did not want to get involved in the European affairs) and gave free rein to Russia and Prussia, the eternal partner in their insatiable Holy Alliance to pursue only their national interests. Five years after the Crimean War, the Italian nationalist Earl Cavour provoked a war with Austria, and so a gradual extrusion of Austria in Italy began, in the next five years, Bismarck's Prussia then forced Austria to withdraw from Germany. In both cases, Russia was only the witness to these events and did not intervene. Consequently, Russia's attitude to the Balkans was the only one reason for the outbreak of World War I. Diplomacy is hence based rather on pure power rather than shared values. Although peace lasted for 50 years, tension continually escalated which led to World War I.

Great Britain

In the international system based on power politics, Great Britain acted differently; its security did not rely on system of congresses, but had the advantage of geographic isolation and resistance to internal political turmoil on the continent. Britain was so strong that it did not need allies; the politicians followed their own national interest and in the 19th century, thus became the dominant European country. In 1841, Lord Palmerston (Prime Minister and multiple Foreign Minister) in a letter addressed to Ambassador in St. Petersburg explained, why Britain will not preclude purely domestic political changes of other countries, and is willing to resist by applying power **"... that changes which foreign Nations may choose to make in their internal Constitution and form of Government, are form of Government, are to be looked upon as matters with which England has no business to interfere by force of arms... But an attempt of one Nation to seize and to appropriate to itself territory which belongs to another Nation is a different matter; because such an attempt leads to a derangement of the existing Balance of Power..., and such attempts therefore, the British Government holds itself at full liberty to resist..."**

Insisting on the freedom of action, a majority of British politicians refused all variations of collective security. The term **"splendid isolation"** had become familiar and reflected the British conviction of alliances, by which it would lose more than gain. Great Britain could afford this policy, given that it had no desire for any new territories in Europe, but this did not apply to the acquisition of overseas colonies. Through its policy and tenacity Great Britain has earned the nickname "Perfidious Albion."

In the 19th century, the British influence peaked, **Great Britain** was the leading industrial state, its Royal Navy ruled the seas, and the internal political situation was calm. In relation to international relations it applied a pragmatic approach (unchanged

since the time of William III till World War I) – as a fixed principle Great Britain **professed protection of the balance of power – to support the weaker against the stronger**. It tried to hold back the Russian expansion into Persia and access to Constantinople and India. Much later it came to believe that the main threat to its security is Germany.

Public opinion has played an important role in British foreign policy since 1700. No country has had opposing views on foreign policy apart from Great Britain – the 18th century, the king's foreign policy was represented largely by **Tories**, who **had a tendency to interfere in continental conflicts**, while the **Whigs kept distance from them and put the emphasis on overseas expansion**, in the 19th century, they exchanged their roles. In the 19th century, Great Britain judged others by their foreign policy and not by domestic structures. Due to the balance of power had Great Britain been almost without wars throughout the 19th century – with a small exception of the Crimean War, which led to the collapse of Metternich order built during Vienna Congress. **Moderation – the moral element disappeared from the European diplomacy.**

Collapse of Metternich's system after the Crimean War led to nearly two decades of wars: 1859 – the War of Piedmont and France against Austria, 1864 War of Schleswig-Holstein, 1866 Prussian-Austrian war, 1870 Franco-Prussian War. **A new balance of power arose from these events in Europe:** France lost superiority over Germany. We see here a new concept for an unlimited balance of power politics – **Realpolitik – a foreign policy based on calculations of power and national interest**, which replaced the French *raison d'état*, but without changing the meaning.

A new European order was the work of two colleagues, from whom, however, it was not expected, and who eventually became the biggest opponents: **Emperor Napoleon III and Otto von Bismarck**. Both failed to apply old Metternich principles:

- In the interest of stability it is necessary to maintain legitimately crowned heads of European states
- Nationalist and liberal movements should be suppressed
- Relations between states must be based on consensus of similarly minded rulers.

They established their own policy – **Realpolitik (unrestricted balance of power politics) in which relations between states depend on the gross power and the strong win.**

Napoleon III – Nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, was elected President in 1848 after the revolution in 1852 he declared himself the emperor.

Otto von Bismarck coming from a significant Prussian family stood against liberal revolution in Prussia in 1848. In 1862, he became Prime Minister thanks to the fact that the king did not see any other way out of the dispute with the parliament on military spending.

Both succeeded to destroy Vienna arrangement, especially its moderation, because it did not suit them. It did not suit Napoleon III, because he saw in it an obstacle

to territorial expansion of France, felt that France sometimes had the right to territorial gains and did not want a united Europe to stand in the way. Otto von Bismarck was not inclined to it, because Prussia was only a minor partner of Austria in the German community and if Prussia was meant to unify Germany, it was necessary to destroy this system.

Napoleon III wanted to make France a source of European nationalism but achieved the opposite, **European diplomacy found itself in chaos**, from which other countries benefited and France did not gain anything in the long run, allowed *the unification of Italy* and inadvertently contributed to the *unification of Germany*. France thus geopolitically weakened and destroyed the historical foundation for the dominant French influence in Central Europe. Napoleon III, to some extent rightly thought that the Vienna system insulates France, but in 1870 at the end of its reign, was France paradoxically much more isolated than in the times of Metternich.

In relation to Otto von Bismarck is to say, that only a few statesmen were able to change the course of history as he did. It was expected that the unification of Germany will be achieved democratically and not by a dominance of power of Prussia. Otto von Bismarck did not find general support for his behaviour in citizens, conservatives considered New Germany too democratic, liberals considered it too authoritarian and legitimists too power oriented. It was tailored for the genius who decided to manage both domestic and foreign power by applying manipulation of their antagonisms. His successors, however, could no longer handle the job.

Napoleon III managed to break the diplomatic isolation of France and with help of the Crimean War initiated disintegration of the Holy Alliance, thank to which he was considered erratically clever. Otto von Bismarck was the only one who could read him from the beginning, when he said: **"His intelligence is overrated at the expenses of his sentimentality."** **Napoleon III** considered himself a revolutionary and so wanted legitimate European leaders to adopt him among themselves. The issue of international recognition arose again after the announcement of the third empire, as the Vienna arrangement expressly prohibited the French throne goes to someone from the Bonaparte family. The first state to recognise it was Austria. (Napoleon III was also worried about his address, and whether Monarchs will address him as they would address themselves, brother, or otherwise. Addressing a monarch as a brother accepted Prussia and Austria, but the Russian Tsar refused and addressed him as a friend. This suggested a gap between Napoleon III and other monarchs.) Ironically, France benefited thanks to Napoleon's III internal policies (He started the industrial revolution in France, his support of banking institutions played an important role in the economic development of the country, he rebuilt Paris into a modern city) as foreign, which was his passion. His **ultimate goal was the abolition of the territorial clause of the Vienna arrangement**, change the system of states, but never understood that achieving this goal would lead to the unification of Germany, and it would prevent France to dominate Central Europe. *The chaotic politics reflected his personal ambivalence*. He had his uncle's ambitions, but not his courage, his genius nor his thick power. He supported Italy, if it concerned the North, supported the independence of Poland while he did not

have to take risk of war. In relation to Germany, he did not know on which party to bet. Some kind of convention would suit him the most, where the new borders would be defined, about which he already had an idea. Napoleon III eventually presided only to one Paris Congress after the Crimean War, which only ratified what had been achieved by the war, he did not change the map of Europe. **Misfortune for France was that Napoleon III was against the Vienna arrangement while did not understand that it was the best guarantee of security for France. German society was built so that it acted consistently only in case of external danger. Individual States could not liaise for the purpose of offensive goals.**

Cooperation with Austria never seemed to be the best solution for him. He even went to war with Austria for Northern Italy in 1859. He got into complete isolation by supporting the Polish revolution in 1863 and thus buried the opportunity of the alliance at least with Russia.

In 1864, for the first time since the Congress of Vienna, Austria and Prussia violated peace in Central Europe by beginning the war for the German case against the German super power. The reason for it was Schleswig Region and Holstein Elbe Region, linked to the Danish crown, but also belonged to the German Confederation. The essence of the dispute was far less important than the fact that the coalition of the two German states **forced Denmark to give up these territories, which revealed that Germany is capable of an offensive.** According to a tradition, the Congress should have been convened to restore the *status quo ante*. At that time, however, **Europe was confused** which was caused by the French Emperor, and none of the super powers were willing to stand for the restoration of the previous state. *Russia was not willing to stand up against the two states which at the time of the Polish revolution were idle and Great Britain did not appreciate an attack on Denmark. In addition to the intervention, an ally was needed on the continent but there was none, because France was the only one and unreliable. And so these territories were taken away from Denmark and occupied by Austria and Prussia and the rest of the continent just watched. This would not happen in the Metternich system.*

Bismarck, however, did not want to share the lead in new possessions and therefore waited for an opportunity of confrontation. *Ambivalence of Napoleon III was gaining strength; he worried about the German unification, but sympathised with German nationalism. He said, that in case of the Austro-Prussian conflict he will maintain neutrality hoping to get Prussian concessions for it. He hoped for the Prussian defeat but wanted to come across as its saviour, Venetia would fall under Italy. North German Confederation was meant to be created under the auspices of Prussia and Southern Germany was to be supported by France and Austria. He once again used his standard trick, asked his Congress to convene to avert the threat of war. The reaction of the others was also standard, they refused to participate, Great Britain confirmed participation conditional on the Congress under the consent of France with the *status quo*, but it was impossible. So Otto von Bismarck realised that the French neutrality is a question of price and thus suggested that if France maintained neutrality, Prussia will not exert any activity, if France decides to occupy Belgium. He hoped to get France into conflict*

with Great Britain. Napoleon's III rival and later French President **Adolphe Thiers** predicted that Prussia will become the dominant force in Germany and wanted for France to stand up to Prussia with the pretext of safeguarding the independence of the German states (the idea of Cardinal Richelieu), and thus the independence of France and on behalf of the European balance. Napoleon III declined, however, because he expected victory of Austria and removal of Vienna arrangement and the fulfilment of Bonapartist tradition, which was more important to him than the historical national interests of France.

Prussia triumphed quickly and decisively **in the Austro-Prussian War in 1866**, Austria withdrew from Germany and Prussia established a North German Confederation after annexation of two countries, uniting individual North German States, but in all subjected to the leadership of Prussia – from trade legislation to Foreign Policy, South German States (Bavaria, Baden and Württemberg) could maintain their independence at the cost of contracts with Prussia, whereby in the event of war, their armies would have to pass under Prussian command, and there was only one crisis to German unification.

Thanks to Napoleon III, France found itself at an impasse and *it was too late for an alliance with Austria, which it militarily expelled from Italy and Germany by neutrality policy. Austria focused their efforts on rebuilding the empire to become a dualistic monarchy with a centre in Vienna and Budapest, and later focused on their possessions in the Balkans. Great Britain was restrained due to the interest of France on Luxembourg and Belgium and Russia did not forgive Napoleon III his attitude during the Polish uprising.* Otto von Bismarck did not fulfil his hopes given to Napoleon III with respect to Luxembourg and Belgium, and he did not give him these territories "on a platter" as Napoleon III imagined and since he achieved what he wanted within the French neutrality in the Austro-Prussian War, he had no more desire for risk. Napoleon III was humiliated, there was a shift in the European balance to disadvantage of France, and so Napoleon III utilised vacant Spanish throne to ask the King of Prussia to guarantee the vacant throne. Otto von Bismarck used it very skillfully (in moving diplomacy he was unbeatable), the Prussian king very patiently and correctly rejected the French ambassador and sent a report to Otto von Bismarck thereon, the text was revised by deleting the reference about the patience and grace of the king toward the ambassador. Otto von Bismarck was ahead of time, resorted to the technique, which was later revised by statesmen to an art form, assisted in passing so called Ems Dispatch to the press. A modified version acted as an insult of France. Otto von Bismarck eventually achieved what he set for himself, France declared war on Prussia under the pressure of their public, but with the help of other German states quickly and decisively won the war, and so the **final unification of Germany took place on 18 January 1871**. New arrangement weakened influence of France, which itself gave up its primacy in Europe. *Foreign Policy of Napoleon III collapsed because of his inability to bring order to his many desires and find relationship between them and the reality around. According to Napoleon III France was humiliated by Metternich system, which restricted its ambitions, he managed to drive a wedge between Austria and Russia during the Crimean War, but did not use it to his advantage.* The period **1853-71 marked the chaos, reorganised the European order**, which resulted

in unified Germany as Europe's strongest power, **the basis of international politics became raw power**. During Bismarck's realpolitik, foreign policy became a test of strength. France lapsed into the gap between its vision as the dominant power and its ability to fulfil this vision, which persists to this day (France tends to associate with countries that are willing to accept his leadership position, friendship with Germany until the last decades of the last century, until then, Germany was a nightmare – 100 years after the Franco-Prussian War). Terms of primacy created by Cardinal Richelieu passed away by the emergence of nation-states.

Napoleon III began and Otto von Bismarck completed the destruction of the Vienna system. Otto von Bismarck went down in history as the politician who first introduced universal suffrage for men in Europe, a comprehensive system of social insurance (which could not be competed with by anyone in the world for the following 60 years), completed the unification of Germany offering the imperial crown to the Prussian king. Otto von Bismarck was a revolutionary, who was born in the heyday of the Metternich system, into the world consisting of three main elements: the European balance of power, national German balance of Austria and Prussia, and the system of alliances based on the unity of conservative values. After Vienna arrangements, international tensions remained at a low level, all the major states as well as so called Eastern empires (Prussia, Austria, and Russia) mutually recognised their own values, and had interest in the survival of all. Otto von Bismarck, however, stood against this convinced, that Prussia became the most powerful state, does not need the Holy Alliance for the link with Russia and Austria represented an obstacle to the accomplishment of his mission in Germany. Bismarck's policy only recognised the glory of the state, did not recognise a different value system and had become a challenge for the Habsburgs, with which they could not cope or understand.

International order returned to unrestricted rivalry of the 18th century, which was more dangerous since it had industrial technology available.

According to Otto von Bismarck, Prussia had conditions for the implementation of such policy due to the fact, that it had few other foreign policy interests as strengthening its position in Germany. Any other power had more complex commitments:

Great Britain – worries about its empire and maintains the overall balance of power,

Russia – an effort to assert itself in Eastern Europe, Asia and the Ottoman Empire

France – restored empire, ambitions in Italy

Austria – concentration in the Balkans and Italy, and its leadership position in the German league.

It follows that, because of the concentration of Prussia in Germany, it had no major disagreements with other powers except Austria. Austria appeared as an obstacle standing in the way of Prussia to acquire hegemony in Germany, so Otto von Bismarck decided to weaken Austria wherever the opportunity arose.

Metternich system was trying to bring change through European conventions and not on the basis of a foreign policy based on threats and anti-threats. Eventually, all

states were forced to compete in the arms race and make confrontational foreign policy.

Bismarck's unified Germany was created as a diplomatic agreement of German rulers and not as an expression of the will of the people. Its legitimacy was derived from the power of Prussia and not on the principle of national self-determination. When Germany reached the borders, which was considered vital to its security, its foreign policy became prudent and stabilizing.

German annexation of Alsace-Lorraine led to irreconcilable French antagonism, which ruled out any possibility of a German diplomatic rapprochement with France.

*European statesman who understood the impact of German unification was **Benjamin Disraeli**, who later became British Prime Minister, and who commented, "balance of power has been entirely destroyed." Benjamin Disraeli was right, Otto von **Bismarck** changed the map of Europe, a model of international relations, but failed to find further operation model for his successors, which ultimately plunged Germany into diplomatic isolation, from which it was possible to escape only at the cost of the arms race. German unification led to the realpolitik turning against each other and achieved the opposite of what was intended.*

Germany became the strongest super power, its power grew, which led to the revolution in European diplomacy: they put pressure on the centre of Europe of its periphery (France, Russia, Great Britain) and the centre was so strong now that it began to put pressure on the peripheral areas. Germany lay in the middle of the continent and was threatened by the surrounding coalitions. The international system introduced a new term "European Concert", which consisted of two main relations:

1. **Hostility of France and Germany** – Prussian victory in 1870 and the German annexation of Alsace-Lorraine provoked a French desire for "revanche" with a specific objective, which lasted nearly 50 years, to regain this territory.
2. **Hostility of Austria-Hungary toward Russia** – in 1852, Otto von Bismarck (he became Prime Minister) proposed by the Ambassador of Austria to move its centre of gravity to Budapest, which became reality after the expulsion of Austria from Germany. Austria-Hungary could thus expand only in the Balkans, which was not acceptable to Russia. (Otto von Bismarck did not want a collapse of Austria-Hungary, but did not want to come into conflict with Russia either, and thus the relationship between Germany and Russia became the key to the European peace).

Russia

After entering the international scene, Russia very quickly established a dominant position, in 1648 (Westphalia Peace) still was not considered important, but since 1750 became an active participant in every European war. The absolute power of the Tsar

allowed him an arbitrary conduct of foreign policy, according to the ruler's ideas. The most significant feature of Russia was a **paradox**; Russia **expanded in all directions, but still considered itself at a permanent risk**. Russia thus gradually became a threat to the balance of power. It should be noted, that at least twice it saved this balance, concerning Napoleon Bonaparte and Adolf Hitler, without a Russian effort these two gentlemen would surely have established universal empires. Russia, as well as America, considered themselves to be extraordinary, a noble thing that goes beyond geopolitics. Russian expansion into Central Asia showed a lot in common with the American expansion westward. Russian expansion, however, became a foreign policy issue in the second half of the 19th century. The world saw Russia as an element to be afraid of and which should be detained.

In the late 19th century, super powers viewed each other as lethal opponents and a confrontation became a standard method of diplomacy.

In 1876, there was another crisis in the Balkans that eventually led to the outbreak of World War I. This year the Bulgarians revolted against Turkish rule, joined by other Balkan nations, but Turkey hit brutally and Russia threatened by the intervention, which in London immediately raised the spectre of Russian control of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, and thus the Russian domination of the Mediterranean and Middle East, which would threaten London's status in Egypt.

*Russia expanded further to the East, and its chancellor Alexander M. Gorchakov felt that these acts should somehow be explained and so he came up with the **difference between unilateral assurances and bilateral obligations engagement**: "The Cabinet in London, appears to derive, from the fact of our having on several occasions spontaneously and amicably communicated to them our views in respect to Central Asia, and particularly our firm resolve not to pursue a policy of conquest or annexation, a conviction that we have contracted definite engagements towards them in regard to this matter."*

In 1878, a Congress took place **in Berlin**, proposed to Otto von Bismarck by Russia. But prior to the meeting Great Britain and Russia made an agreement, and so instead of the independent Great Bulgaria intended by Russia, reduced Bulgaria came into existence, Eastern Rumelia (autonomous entity) and the rest was meant to be ruled by Turkey. In secret agreements, Great Britain promised Austria-Hungary to support occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to the Sultan to provide assurances of Turkey, In return, the Sultan enabled Great Britain a use of Cyprus as a military base.

Otto von Bismarck began to implement his new policy in **1879 by signing a secret alliance with Austria-Hungary**, suggested that Russia in the Balkans was limited by alliances and not confrontation. The Tsar, however, **did not want to get into isolation and agreed to the renewal of the Three Emperors's League**, who committed their signatories to be neutral in the event that one of them will be at war with the fourth country. **In 1882**, Bismarck persuaded **Italy** to enter into a **Dual Alliance** with **Austria-Hungary and Germany** and create a **Triple Alliance** (during World War I, Italy left this alliance, but Turkey and Bulgaria joined), he also created a number of alliances that partially overlapped and partially competed, he tried to avoid conflict

with Great Britain and thus directed his foreign policy to the continent rather than the colonisation.

Over time, however, the conflict of Austria-Hungary and Russia in the Balkans became unmanageable – in case of functioning balance of power would the Balkans be divided in sphere of influence of Russia and Austria-Hungary.

Great Bulgaria came into existence in 1885, united German princes and again came to a crisis. Otto von Bismarck as a way out of the situation, saw signing of a Reinsurance Treaty, where Russia and Germany promised to each other to remain neutral in the event of war with a third country, if Germany does not attack France or Russia does not attack Austria-Hungary. The second level said that Germany will not stand up against Russia, if it tries to get Constantinople, and helps to increase Russian influence in Bulgaria. **Through his complex politics, Bismarck wanted to serve to moderation and peace.**

The policy of balance of power peaked in the 40-year period after the Napoleonic Wars, erosion occurred after the Crimean War. In the 19th century, we thus meet with **two models of the balance of power: The British and Bismarck's:**

1. The English waited until the balance of power had not been directly threatened, and then engage and almost always on the weaker side.
2. Otto von Bismarck tried to prevent threats by creating close relationships with the largest possible number of partners, building overlapping alliances and mitigation of demands of disputed parties using such influence.

At the end of the 19th century both of these approaches to foreign policy lost their grounds, Great Britain had not been so dominant anymore and Otto von Bismarck was dismissed by the new emperor, who wanted to improve his policy.

At the end of the first decade of the 20th century, the European concert ceased to exist. Germany was the victim of European wars for two hundred years, most of which was fought on its territory, had lost 1/3 of the population and therefore tried, already united, to prevent it. Despite the fact that Germany was the most powerful country, it felt constantly threatened, was always thinking about how to defend itself against all of its neighbours at one time, and had imposed its military preparedness to it. **Russia, Great Britain and France** achieved the connection previously unimaginable through their own policies (**1907 – formation of Triple Entente** on the basis of bilateral agreements, later joined by Japan, Italy and the USA). This formation unleashed powers struggle, one of which was defending the *status quo*, and the other wanted to change the balance, neither of the groups feared the war any longer.

The crisis erupted in **1908** concerning **Bosnia and Herzegovina**, which after the Berlin Congress ***terra nullius*** was located between the Ottoman and Habsburg empires. Austria-Hungary used a secret clause in the Berlin Congress, where participants agreed to annexation of **Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary**, which consequently took advantage of it. Russia was indignant, especially when it understood

that it was not by chance that Germany supported Austria-Hungary in the case. The next important development was an important promise of Germany to Austria-Hungary in 1913, that in a future crisis, it will enter into the war with it so that Austria-Hungary did not seek support from their opponents. Germany thus lost his last ally.

28 June 1914, the successor to the Habsburg throne, **Franz Ferdinand was assassinated** because of reckless annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary in 1908. There was a crisis where no leader willing to budge and all insisted on keeping formal commitments. **World War I broke out not because the states failed to meet their obligations, but because they met them all.** After the assassination, Austria-Hungary gave Serbia an ultimatum. Serbia agreed on all but one point, but that was the reason that **Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia 28 July 1914.** Gradually the war was joined by other countries, and America entered into the war in April 1917 by declaring the war on Germany **The war ended in the signing of a armistice on 11 November 1918 between Germany and the countries of a Triple Entente.**

VIII. 4 Conference at Versailles and the Interwar Period 1918 –1939

At the beginning of **1918**, (8 January) Woodrow **Wilson** introduced to the Congress his so called **The Fourteen Points** – the U.S. war objectives tied to mandatory (open diplomacy, freedom of navigation, general disarmament, the elimination of trade barriers, impartial settlement of colonial claims, restoration of Belgium, the withdrawal of troops from the Russian territory and the establishment of the League of Nations) and optional (return of Alsace-Lorraine, autonomy for minorities in Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire, modification of borders of Italy, withdrawal of troops from the Balkans, the international status of the Dardanelles, the creation of an independent Poland with free access to the sea). Woodrow **Wilson predicted a world based on the principle** and not the power, on law and not interests.

Post-war organisation was formed at the **Paris Peace Conference**, which culminated in signing of the **Versailles Peace Treaty on 1 June 1919**, which was intentionally very hard. It expressly stated that the Germans are responsible for the outbreak of the war (which was a source of bitterness and danger), contained large economic reparations (the amount of which was set up in 1921 to the current 323 billion USD) and Germany's territorial losses, which included, apart from others, a return of Alsace – Lorraine to France, and the release of partial territory to Poland. With this agreement, 60 million people started to live in their own nation states, among them Czechoslovakia. Other peace treaties were: St.Germain with Austria of 19 September 1919, Neuilly treaty with Bulgaria of 27 November 1919, Trianon with Hungary of 4 June 1919 and The Treaty of Sèvres with the Ottoman Empire of 10 August 1920.

On **16 January 1920 the League of Nations** began its activities. It was founded by the Covenant of the League of Nations on 28 June 1919 and formed a part of Peace

Treaties. States, colonies and self-ruled domineers could become its members. It had 42 members originally. Its aim was to prevent wars, to maintain peace, to ensure international security, to promote peaceful cooperation; in fact, it was meant to ensure a new division of the world and political system after World War I. The main bodies were **the Assembly** (representatives of all Member States, with one voice, the substantive issues – unanimity of all present members voted non-permanent council members, recruited new members and approved the budget), **the Council** (permanent members: France, Great Britain, Italy and Japan, non-permanent elected by the Assembly) and **the Secretariat** headed by the Secretary-General. The official languages were English and French. Mandate system did not at all contribute to the elimination of colonialism, most of the Mandated Territory was allocated to France and Great Britain, formal independence was given only to Iraq.

What was the cause of the failure of the League of Nations?

- Covenant did not contain a complete prohibition of war
- did not allow effective sanctions in case of breach of peace and security,
- there was to sharp difference as to the competence of the Council and the Assembly
- the principle of unanimity voting,
- never contained all super powers – the USA declined to participate, the Soviet Union was not invited until 1934, Germany withdrew after Adolf Hitler came to power in 1933, Japan withdrew in 1933 and Italy in 1936, Great Britain and France had a dominant position.

As a result, the League of Nations could not actively participate in the reconciliation and resolution of conflicts, resulting in the outbreak of World War II and remained in the role of silent witness.

The roots of this military conflict can be found in an unjust peace of Versailles after World War I. Germany and Italy called for a **change of the Versailles system** in particular. Political divisions eventually worsened during the **Great Depression** between 1929 – 1933. The crisis caused a sharp decline in economic growth, disruption of world trade and financial cooperation. This caused a sharp **rise in unemployment** and the associated decline in the standard of living of almost all classes of the population. Differences between countries were deepening, differences between France, Britain and the U.S. on the one side and Germany, Italy and Japan on the other. Hungary, Poland, the Soviet Union and other countries were yearning for changes of borders.

The League of Nations did not have any options but to prevent Germany from building arm forces and militarise the entire country after it left the alliance. Hitler's effort to change the results of the Versailles Peace and create a strong Greater German Empire inspired a large part of the German people and industrialists. Prelude to the world war conflict were the events **in China, Abyssinia (Ethiopia) and Spain**. In 1931, **Japan** invaded China in order to gain industrial **Manchuria**. Fascist **Italy**, in turn, sought to conquer one of the last vacant African countries Abyssinia (**Ethiopia**). Brave Ethiopian troops had no chance against modern Italian army. Neither France nor Great

Britain prevented this aggression not even through the League of Nations. Mussolini's impunity encouraged Hitler.

In early March 1936 Germany unilaterally cancelled, and without firing a shot, militarily occupied the **demilitarised zone** in the Rhineland. The French were unpleasantly surprised by the unexpected attitude of his ally, Great Britain. During this period, **Great Britain** began to promote **appeasement** – a policy of appeasing and constraining the aggressor. The aim of this policy was to “preserve peace” at any price, e.g. at the cost of concessions, at the expense of the interests and territories of the states in Central and Eastern Europe. **Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland** found themselves in the immediate danger in particular. The main executor of the policy of appeasement was the British Prime Minister of 1937, **Neville Chamberlain**. He understood agreements with Adolf Hitler as the way out of the Communist-Bolshevik threat. Against the government and leftist terror of **Popular Front in Spain (Frente Popular)**, which won the parliamentary elections, **uprising** of supporters of **General Franco** broke out in the summer of **1936**. The uprising erupted into **civil war**. **German and Italian intervention troops** entered the war on the General Franco's side, and Moscow supported the Republican **left-wing forces of the Comintern**. In 1939, the civil war ended in the victory of General Franco's troops, and raised a military dictatorship. Spain's neutrality during World War II allowed General Franco to remain in power after the war.

Adolf Hitler understood the policy of appeasement as a sign of weakness of Great Britain and France. In line with his plans to create the **Greater German Empire** and to extend it to the east, **in March 1938** he added **Austria** (*the Anschluss*) to Germany without a fight. He then appeared as a protector of minorities and focused his aggressive policy on **Czechoslovakia**, which he managed to curtail of its border areas without resistance (Munich agreement and Vienna arbitration), and **completely break it in March 1939**.

He wanted to take advantage of the new political situation and gain the **Soviet Union (the USSR)**. When they failed to sign contract on mutual assistance between the **USSR, Great Britain and France**, they signed a **Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact in Moscow on 23 August 1939** (so called Pact Ribbentrop – Molotov), which was extended by a secret amendment. The pact guaranteed the USSR neutrality for Germany in the event of conflict with the West and the Soviet Union temporarily avoided fighting on two fronts – against Germany and Japan. At the same time, the two countries divided spheres of influence in Europe. Soviet Union included Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Bessarabia (Romania) into its sphere. After attacking Poland, the German and Soviet armies were meant to respect the lines of Narva, Vistula and San rivers. In order to create a single “Greater German” Empire, Germany demanded Gdansk harbour from Poland. Pretext for unleashing war against Poland became a provocation of the German radio station in Gliwice, which was attacked by the section of the Nazi Security Service in disguise in Polish uniforms. On Friday, 1 September 1939 at 4:45 am without declaring war **Germany attacked Poland**. Adolf Hitler counted on the fact that the Western powers will not respond again. But Britain and France, in accordance

with contractual obligations to Poland, **declared war on Germany** on 3 September 1939. **World War II began.**

VIII. 5 World War II Period, the Emergence of a Bipolar World 1939 – 1947

To set out further plans of warfare and acceleration of the defeat of the fascist bloc states, was the main objective of **Tehran Conference** on **28 November – 1 December 1943** and its three Heads of States of anti-Hitler coalition: the USA (Franklin D. Roosevelt), Great Britain (Winston Churchill) and the USSR (Josif V. Stalin). Among the other things the agreement was reached in military plans to open the second front (landing of Allied troops in Normandy on 6 June 1944), to establish new world organisation and to shift frontiers of Poland at the expense of Germany.

Another Conference was held on 3 to 11 February 1945 at Yalta in the Crimea, which was more devoted to the post-war world order and alignment of the final phase of the military operations of the war. Winston Churchill asserted that the post-war zone was allocated also to France. Beside others, a conference summon of the United Nations (UN) was agreed and voting in the UN Security Council – the requirement of unanimity in nonprocedural issues – *i.e.* **Yalta Voting Formula.**

World War II results changed the map of the world and the balance of power on the world stage. **The United Nations** were established in 1945 in order to maintain peace and security in the world. Apart from new actors, new factors enter in world politics – national liberation movements and international organisations. The representatives of Big Three, Great Britain (Winston Churchill), the USA (Harry S. Truman replaced deceased Franklin D. Roosevelt) and the USSR (Josif V. Stalin) met on **17 July 1945** at the Cecilienhof castle near Berlin in **Potsdam**. They did not repeat the atmosphere of Yalta, where mutual understanding and respect reigned; the negotiations were focused on the following questions:

- Post-war world order,
- the USSR confirmed that on 8 August 1945, it will enter into a war with Japan (which also happened)
- Agreement on denazification, democratisation, demilitarisation and decartelisation of Germany
- Principles of joint control of the occupation zones and Berlin four sectors
- It was decided to publish the list of war criminals that will be brought before the International Military Tribunal,
- Germany had to pay reparation in the form of products and materials
- Soviet Union will seek to pay fixed reparation cost, if the borders of Poland will shift to the west,
- It was decided on the withdrawal of the German population from Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland.

Period when the Soviet-American relations changed from cooperation to the political and military rivalry can be divided into three periods:

1st period – Tehran Conference in December 1943 and Yalta Conference in February 1945

- USA foreign policy based on Roosevelt's vision of a new world called "Grand Design":
 - a) the USSR to limit its geopolitical interests only to Eastern Europe,
 - b) Great Britain to retain the status of a super power and retain their long-term interests in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Middle East and Asia,
 - c) friendly, *i.e.* democratic China with a focus on West to maintain stability in Asia.

2nd period – Yalta Conference in February 1945 to Truman Doctrine in March 1947 – the above conditions were not fulfilled, Franklin D. Roosevelt accepted the Soviet domination of Eastern Europe (especially if the area which had never been subject to U.S. vital interests) and held opinion that it is not in the U.S. interest to get into conflict with the USSR for this very reason.

3rd period – announcement of Truman Doctrine in March 1947 to North Korean invasion of South Korea in June 1950.

Asia

While Europe was already talking about the post-war arrangements, fights were still going on in Asia. The USA dropped **Atomic bomb on Hiroshima 6 August 1945** to break Japan and make them surrender, **the Soviet Union declared war on Japan 8 August 1945** (the Red Army began operations in Manchuria and in Korea), and the second **bomb on Nagasaki followed (9 August 1945)**. The bombs were meant to allegedly intimidate the USSR, whose influence after the war was great. Japan surrendered 14 August 1945 and **2 September 1945 Japanese** surrender was signed on the battleship Missouri.

This paved the way to the **national liberation movement**, *e.g.* Indonesia's independence was declared 17 August 1945. Traditional colonial powers, however, would not so easily give up those territories; they were trying to restore their domination. Weakening of the British rule particularly occurred after the formation of the **League of Arab States** (established in Cairo on 22 March 1945, the founding states: Egypt, Iraq, Yemen, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Syria).

American continent

The dominant position of the USA deepened not only in world politics but also on the American continent, **pan-americanism** had strengthened and the **Organisation of American States** was formed within economic cooperation (its Charter was signed in Bogotá, 3 April 1948, entered into force on 13 December 1951) based on the prin-

principles of collective security. Development here had been more peaceful compared to Asia; it was addressed by the political means in particular.

Europe

Europe is experiencing a **revolutionary wave** which changed the socio-political order in Central and Eastern Europe. **German issue** is getting to the fore; the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg begins to operate on 20 November 1945.

Winston Churchill was very sensitive to the changes. He declared in his address on **5 March 1946** in Fulton, Missouri, where he was awarded an honorary doctorate, that from Szczecin on the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain had been descended – **the beginning of the Cold War**.

The USA was **the strongest economic super power** in the world. The USSR at that time advocated a program of economic reconstruction (designated amount of production of iron, steel, coal, oil), which influenced its foreign policy. Josif V. Stalin initially accepted the USA aid amounting to 492 million USD in the form of pipeline equipment and humanitarian aid, but later refused any aid linked to political conditions, which resulted in the refusal of the Marshall Plan.

Again, the issue of the Black Sea Straits came to the forefront (in August 1946, the USSR called on Turkey to change their regime that will ensure the safety will be provided by the States in this region together, which Turkey refused, the most advanced U.S. aircraft carrier was sent to the Straits, the Soviet Union did not repeat its demand, but the tension grew). Iran, which had been occupied by the Soviet Union, Great Britain and partially by the USA together since 1941, the Soviet Union refused to withdraw from these territories, supported the Communist Party and the separatist efforts to establish Kurdish Republic and the Republic of Azerbaijan, sought for advantageous grant oil concessions. In October 1945 with the support of the USA, Iran suspended relations with the USSR.

Large influence of Communist Parties was not only in Central and Eastern Europe; the Communists were in **governments** in countries such as France, Belgium, Italy, Finland, and Norway.

Twenty-one allied countries signed the **Paris Peace Treaties with Bulgaria, Finland, Italy and Hungary on 10 February 1947**, but that was at a time when US-Soviet cooperation at the international level was over.

All Soviet acts in Central and Eastern Europe aimed against any possible attack from the West, which Josif V. Stalin still feared, the U.S. understood as a preparation for a new war. The USA began to implement a **new concept** of foreign policy **in German issue**, the merger of the American and British occupation zones emerged, which was

later the basis for the formation of the Federal Republic of Germany, but it was contrary to the Potsdam Agreement. Restoration of the German economy and industry was an integral part of the plan to stop the penetration of the Soviet Union in Europe.

On 6 March 1947, in his speech at the University of Baylor, President Harry S. Truman expressed his agreement to accept the "*pax americana*", then on **12 March 1947** in Congress, he requested military and financial aid for Greece and Turkey, the countries most vulnerable to communism ("the U.S. policy must be based on the promotion of free nations"), the USA started to apply **containment policy** by this **Truman Doctrine**, *i.e. each of the two super powers takes its leading position in its block, has the last word, and the impact of other states is only secondary.*

The Truman Doctrine was followed by declaration of the Marshall Plan in June 1947, by which the USA helped the post-war reconstruction of Europe, but only in its western part, while the eastern part came clearly under the domination of the Soviet Union.

In September 1947, a meeting of the Information Bureau of the Communist and workers' parties took place, which was a step towards the subordination of the international Communist movement to Soviet communists, which resulted in the division of the world to the imperialist, war part led by the USA and the democratic and peace part led by the Soviet Union.

The situation in **China** escalated too; there was a conflict of **Kuo-min-tang** led by **Chiang Kai-shek and the Communists** led by **Mao Ze-dong** (Mao Tse-tung) dominating Northern China. In 1946, Kuomintang made considerable achievements, but the situation changed after the Communists prepared a new program, which sought to carry out land reform, to distribute land to the landowning peasants, and to subject capital to the state. In the summer of 1947, the Communists were gradually winning; the civil war reached enormous proportions. In early 1949, Communists took over Manchuria and Northern China, and Beijing in late January and went further south, which was controlled by Kuomintang. Countryside was hoping that the Communists will bring land reform. After the defeat in 1949, Kuomintang retreated to the island of Taiwan.

A similar situation occurred in **Vietnam**, the result of national liberation movement **in India** was its breakdown of the religious key in **1947 into two states** – Hindu **India** and Muslim **Pakistan** and by this the British administration of this territory was completed. But unresolved questions of Punjab and Kashmir regions remained (principality state whose Maharaja could choose where he wants to belong – chose India (Muslim to India), triggering a military conflict).

The division of Palestine is considered the last step of the cooperation of four super powers. On 29 November 1947, UN General Assembly (UNGA) approved Resolution no. 181 on the creation of two independent states on the territory of the then British Mandate of Palestine (since 1920, when the victorious super powers established

the British mandatory administration of the territory of Palestine at an international conference in San Remo. In view of the constant unrest in the territory, Great Britain gave up its mandate in favour of the United Nations – tension before the UN – Chaim A. Weizmann, the chief representative of the World Zionist Organisation: “Palestine will be as Jewish as England is English, Ben Gurion:” It is not possible to resolve the dispute between Arabs and Jews, as a nation ... we want this country to be ours, they want it to be theirs “). The Arab State should have covered almost 43% and the Jewish state nearly 57% of the Palestinian territory. Jerusalem was declared a free city under international administration. Jews agreed despite undisguised disappointment (it was a territory of nearly three isolated enclaves, which became almost unprotectable), the Arabs rejected it.

VIII. 6 The Cold War, the Collapse of the Bipolar World 1947 – 1990

The end of the British Mandate in Palestine was set to on **14 May 1948**, the date of the establishment of the State of Israel. A day later, 15 May 1948, Israel was attacked by Arab countries (I Arab-Israeli war, Jewish also call it The War for Independence, the Arabs call it a Disaster), but Israel repelled the Arab attack and occupied much of the territory that was meant to fall to the Arab state. Gradually, during the first half of 1949 ceasefire agreements were signed with Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria, the end of the war dates back to 20 July 1949, a demilitarised zone was created on the border between Israel and its Arab neighbours, but later the rest of the planned territory of the Arab State was allocated to Jordan (the West Bank and East Jerusalem) and Egypt (Gaza zone). There was a problem with nearly a million Arab refugees who fled to neighbouring countries, and who should have been taken care of by the newly created United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

In **Europe, the Communists** succeeded, the governments under their leadership originated in Albania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. The February events of 1948 in Czechoslovakia together with the Soviet blockade of Berlin are identified as a crucial moment for the U.S. decision to strengthen the political dimension *containment strategy*:

- Proposal for Western Europe to sign an agreement on collective self-defence – **4 April 1949** signing of the **North Atlantic Treaty in Washington**
- The establishment of the *Office of Special Projects within the CIA* to increase the number of intelligence operations against the Soviet Union (USSR).

During the debates in Washington an agreement was reached on the establishment of the Anglo-American-French *Trizone*, which became the basis for the future **Federal Republic of Germany** (FRG). Consequently, the German constitution was adopted, which **was declared on 7 September 1949** and Dr. Konrad Adenauer became the first chancellor.

After the establishment of FRG it was necessary to solve the situation in the Soviet occupation zone, where the first interim government of the German Democratic Republic was established, and by the formation of the interim House of the People which on **7 October 1949 announced the establishment of the German Democratic Republic**. Wilhelm Pieck became the first president.

The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance was established during **1949** (January) as an economic organisation of the socialist bloc countries. **The Council of Europe** was founded in May, the USSR **made detonation of the atomic bomb in September**, and the USA was developing the hydrogen bomb. This development peaked by the nuclear test at Bikini Atoll on 1 November 1952.

In respect of the USA and the USSR their **relationship with China** was also important. The USA interpreted the local civil war as a conflict between communism and democracy. After the defeat of Kuomintang on 1 October 1949 the People's Republic of China was proclaimed, this was immediately recognised by the USSR. Despite this, no change was made in the position of the Permanent member of the UN Security Council, where until 1971 a representative of the Republic of China held a session on the island of Taiwan (and not mainland People's Republic of China) because the U.S. and its allies did not recognise the results of the Civil War.

The most serious escalation of the Cold War was the **Korean conflict**. After the surrender of Japan the 38th Parallel was intended as a demarcation line between the U.S. and the Soviet armies, resulting in the American army being present in the south and the Soviet army in the north. The Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea were established, the Soviets withdrew in December 1948 and the Americans in June 1949. **The War broke out 25 June 1950**, when a well-armed Democratic People's Republic of Korea's army stormed through the 38th parallel, occupied Seoul and proceeded southwards. UN Security Council, in the absence of the Soviet representative, who did not take part in its meetings to protest against Chiang Kai-shek representative in the UN Security Council, called for an immediate cessation of military operations and the withdrawal of Democratic People's Republic of Korea troops. The USA supported the Republic of Korea through the events of its Air Force and Navy. Despite the U.S. aid, The Republic of Korea troops retreated to the south of the country. However, this was reversed after an unexpected landing of the U.S. forces on the west coast and the subsequent arrest of some 125 000 troops and heavy weaponry acquisition, then the 38th parallel was crossed and Pyongyang conquered. Allied troops had to consequently face the attack of 180,000 Chinese soldiers who re-occupied Seoul. Allied troops got stabilised at pre-war line in May 1951, after they pushed back the Chinese troops to the north. The USSR submitted a draft to the UN to cease-fire, the most difficult issue, however, was the exchange of war prisoners (Chinese-Korean troops captured about 92,000 soldiers, while the counterparty about 171 000, out of which quite a significant number refused to return to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea). **Peace Agreement was signed on 27 July 1953** designating the border, the existent front line. The Korean War was the first one for the UN to participate in and represented the culmination of the Cold War.

The year 1953 was the year of the death of communist leaders; Josif V. Stalin in the Soviet Union and Gottwald in Czechoslovakia.

In addition to Korea, **Indochina** had been a focus of tension and the conflict in this area can be divided into three stages:

The first stage – the period of **engagement of France** – 1945-54

The second stage – the period of the **Geneva agreements** – 1954-65

The third stage – the period of **direct the U.S. engagement**– 1965-73

It was a protracted, bloody, regional and localised colonial civil war. Major military actions took place in **Vietnam**, but also in the border areas of **Laos and Cambodia**. At the end of World War II guerrillas Ho Chi Minh, with the support of China and the USA gained control over the most of the North Vietnam. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam was proclaimed in September **1945**. France, however, with the support of Great Britain began to restore its colonial dominion and occupied the country with Emperor Bao Dai as the Head of State and restored the status of Vietnam as part of the French Union. In January **1950**, there was recognition of the Viet-Minh (leftist liberation movement on the territory of Vietnam, led by Ho Chi Min) from China and the Soviet Union, the French border points were destroyed on the border with China, and thus created a direct link with China, which helped to Viet- Minh. France found support in the USA. Later, the conflict was transferred to Laos and Cambodia, in May **1954**, however, the French suffered a defeat, and so their rule in Indochina ended. **The Geneva Conference on Indochina and Korea** followed with the participation of the permanent members of the UN Security Council and Laos, Cambodia, North Vietnam and South Vietnam, declaration of neutrality of Laos and Cambodia was signed, and Vietnam was temporarily divided along the 17th parallel. The termination of this division was tied to the results of the general elections in 1956 in both parts of the country. Although the conference did not solve all the problems in East Asia, the ceasefire had led to **the release of tension in Asia and around the world**. The USA, however, had an interest in keeping the sphere of Western influence in this area. President Eisenhower tried to make South Vietnam a testing ground for detention policy in Asia.

Federal Republic of Germany was admitted into NATO on 9 May 1955 and the **Warsaw Pact** was signed five days later (The Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance), whose signatories were Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, German Democratic Republic, Poland, Romania and the USSR. Its aim was to give each other mutual assistance in case of attack by a third party against any State Party.

The day after the signing of the Warsaw Pact, foreign ministers of four major powers were brought together in Vienna to sign the **Treaty for the re-establishment of an independent and democratic Austria**, who on 26 October 1955 adopted a **law on their own neutrality**, which superpowers and other states respected.

Representatives of the four superpowers were brought together at the highest level in Geneva on July 1955 (USA, USSR, France and Great Britain) and tried to contribute

to the moderation of international tensions but deep disputes had not yet been overcome.

In 1955, there was a certain **watershed** in international relations, politics of the Cold War weakened and was impaired in some places. It showed that there are issues which superpowers would be able to agree on, especially when **new independent countries began to pursue a policy of peaceful coexistence**.

The ideological cornerstone of the newly independent states had become the 'Pancasila' (Panchsheel Treaty) principles, that were formulated at a meeting of the People's Republic of China **and India in New Delhi in June 1954** and which were supposed to govern relations between the two countries. These principles became known throughout the world as a policy of peaceful co-existence based on mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, mutual non-interference in internal affairs, equality, mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. They became an inspiration for *the first conference of the newly independent states on 18 April 1955 in Bandung, Indonesia*, expelling the superpowers, whose domain was the world politics and involving the countries of Asia and Africa in order to develop their relationships.

On 13 September 1955, diplomatic relations between the USSR and Federal Republic of Germany were established, consequently the contract was signed between the USSR and the German Democratic Republic, confirming the full sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic.

Soviet efforts to integrate the two German states in international relations found a defendant mainly in Bonn, where **Hallstein Doctrine** was announced at the end of **1955**, which declared Germany to suspend diplomatic relations with any country that recognised the German Democratic Republic *de jure*.

XX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union took place in 1956, where Stalin's cult of personality was exposed and criticised, but where the foreign policy of the USSR was also formulated aimed to reduce international tensions. Revealing Stalin's mistakes meant rapid movement in other communist parties, which resulted in the foreign policy implications.

Shooting of dozens of protesters, who demanded higher wages, took place in **Poland** in 1956 during the fair in Poznan. In **Hungary**, there was a rehabilitation of Imre Nagy, who became the leader of the Government declaring neutrality, which was considered a *de facto* withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact. This, however, was not accepted by the Soviet Union and thus under its patronage a military action against Hungary was approved within the Warsaw Pact. It was attended by János Kádár, who was expected to become a leader of a new workers 'and peasants' government. The Soviet Army launched its counter-attack and suppressed rebellion on 4 November 1956.

During this period, the **Suez conflict** culminated resulting in nationalisation of the Suez Canal by the Egyptian revolutionary government, which was intimately related to

free navigation on the world's seas and oceans. The USA implemented a policy of de-tention in the Middle East and in contrast to Southeast Asia; its interests in the region were defined very clearly:

- Access to oil,
- Limitation of the Soviet influence,
- Protection of Israel.

Egyptian revolution began in **1952 by the overthrow of the monarchy** and proclamation of republic. In 1954 a treaty was signed with Great Britain on the troop's withdrawal the Canal Zone. Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser made the big deal with Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union to supply weapons. The USA was concerned and therefore stopped technical and economic aid to Egypt in the construction of Aswan Dam, which was to improve the living standards of the population. The answer was a nationalisation of the Suez Canal. The proceeds were meant to fund the construction of the dam, even at the cost of direct confrontation with France, Britain and Israel. The British and the French declared Canal blockage and prepared a military action. Under the agreement, Israel attacked Egypt 20 October 1956 and provided the pretext to the British and the French to offer Egypt the spread of their units in the Canal Zone. Egypt refused, the USA opposed Great Britain and France and on the UN ground they put pressure to end the operation in which they succeeded. The units were withdrawn, Israel released the conquered territory and the UN troops were spread on the line between Israel and Egypt. The Suez crisis pointed at the total decline of Great Britain and France as superpowers.

At the end of 1950s of the last century, the two **superpowers** (USA, USSR) often argued **for a policy of international tension release (détente)**. The USSR, which halted its nuclear weapons efforts, was joined by the USA and Britain. Favourable conditions for the Soviet-American negotiations were created during **1959**, which ended by **the first visit of Nikita Khrushchev in the USA**. It was the evidence of the international tension release. Both sides agreed on conflicts to be resolved by peaceful means and not by force. At the UN General Assembly, **the USSR gave proposal for general and complete disarmament joined by the USA** and thus in 1959 the XVI. UN General Assembly approved a **resolution on General and complete disarmament** (No. 1378 (XIV)).

Antarctica was declared **the sixth continent and the territory without weapons** at the end of 1959.

In **1960** (also called the Year of Africa), the independence of states like Congo, Cameroon, Somalia was proclaimed, and in the middle of the year, the biggest changes so called **Festival of independence** had taken place on the map of Africa. Senegal, Sudan, Morocco, Chad and Nigeria gained independence.

Admission of new members to the UN meant a change in the UN, where former colonies became the largest group. The UN General Assembly approved the **Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples on 14**

December 1960. A new term, so called the Third World is gaining awareness. **A year later** (1 September 1961) the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries – **Non-Aligned Movement** was held in **Belgrade**, which represented most of the planet's population, and had to be counted on in international relations.

One problem, however, remained in Africa. It was apartheid of South Africa, also applied in relation to Namibia (Southwest Africa).

Thirty one independent states gathered in **Addis Ababa in 1963** and founded the **Organisation of African Unity**. Decolonisation wave strongly influenced global politics through new subjects in international relations.

After the Suez crisis, the power situation in this area changed. **Great Britain** as the strongest and most influential superpower **lost its positions** and influence on the given territory, which the USA considered dangerous vacuum. Therefore, President Dwight D. Eisenhower told Congress in 1957 that it is necessary to fill the vacuum, before the Soviet Union does so, which led to the **Eisenhower doctrine**, according to which the USA was meant to protect the Middle East from "open armed aggression of any nation, which is controlled by international communism". This led to the creation of the **anti-Nasser Alliance** supported by the USA, whose part of the economic and military aid to Iraq, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Lebanon and later the creation of the Baghdad Pact (Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey, Great Britain) was supported by the USA, which in practice meant **application of containment policy in the region**. While this policy worked in Europe, here it disappointed. Syria together with Egypt created the United Arab Republic (1 February 1958, but Syria stepped out 30 September 1961, and Egypt used this name until 1971) in Iran pro-Western government was overthrown, and therefore Iraq withdrew from the Baghdad Pact.

The Middle East compared to East Asia was different for the USA, where anti-colonial movements were clearly controlled by the Communist Party and its doctrine. Power and ideological conditions were not clearly identifiable here. The USA was led to fill any power vacuum resulting from departure of the colonial powers not only by the historical development of the region, but especially by the behaviour of the USSR as a country with unlimited geopolitical interests.

Deterioration of the international situation occurred after the unsuccessful Paris Conference of four superpowers, where the USSR did not accept an invitation, the reason being a shot down of an American spy aircraft over the Soviet Union on 1 May 1960 (known as the „U-2 Affair“), about which the USA claimed that it was a stray meteorological aircraft, but later admitted it was an espionage. The USA refused to apologise for the espionage flights, and that was the reason for the absence of the USSR at the given conference, which was subsequently cancelled. The USSR then cancelled a planned trip of the U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower to Moscow in June 1960.

After the new U.S. President **John F. Kennedy** came into his Office **in 1961** (a period of decline of the authority of the Great Britain and France, while the Soviet Un-

ion and the USA began to qualify as superpowers) John F. Kennedy met with Nikita Khrushchev in June in Vienna and re-opened the German issue, but his proposals were not accepted. West Berlin was a nightmare for the Eastern Block. It was a hole through which 4000 people a day immigrated to West Berlin in August 1961, which had economic and political consequences. It was also the penetration of Western spy services into Eastern Europe. Therefore on 12 August 1961, the German Democratic Republic government adopted a decision on measures in Berlin, part of which was the division of Berlin by **the wall (wall of shame) and from 13 August 1961**, the borders between the two parts of Berlin closed with the exception of well-defined border crossings. The West only watched, because from a position of power it could not interfere.

Normalisation of relations of the Soviets with Yugoslav Communists also meant that disputes between **the Soviet Union and Albania** came onto surface **in 1960** (withdrawal of Soviet experts from the country, cancellation of economic supplies) as well as disagreements between the USSR and the People's Republic of China because of the Soviet effort for peaceful coexistence, since China considered the USA to be the main enemy of all countries in the world and asked them to apply force policy.

Ending the conflict in **Algeria**, and its proclamation of independence in **1962** marked the end of the old colonialism.

During the same year the two superpowers faced each other on the **Caribbean missile crisis**, which could grow to World War III. The Caribbean crisis has its roots in the development of Cuba since January 1959, when the Revolution triumphed here, Batista regime was overthrown and **Fidel Castro** became the head of Cuba (in 1961, he managed to stave off an attempt of 1400 emigrants to overthrow his regime). The **USA** did not want to accept the fact that the communist regime was established near Florida. A year later they started **economic blockade of Cuba, and in 1961 they severed diplomatic relations** with Cuba. By additional steps they wanted to prevent similar arrangements in the Western Hemisphere, so to their suggestion, Cuba was excluded from the Organisation of American States in 1962. In the summer of 1962 Cuban leaders **Raul Castro** and **Che Guevara** visited Moscow asking for help and support. **Operation "Anadyr"**, which consisted of the installation of 42 rockets of short-and medium-range missiles in Cuba with 40,000 soldiers and 42 fighters, were approved. The USA published **satellite photos** showing the construction of missile bases in Cuba **16 October 1962**. A few days later on **22 October 1962** John F. Kennedy announced the **naval blockade of Cuba** to prevent Soviet ships from gaining other components of missiles, including nuclear warheads. Soviet ships could not bring anything to the island without examination, a distance of ships from the blockade was reduced and tension peaked, it was expected that the ships are accompanied by submarines and the USSR attempts to break through the blockade. On **24 October 1962 the Soviet ships were ordered to stop** and the two governments began to negotiate through **so called hotline**, both sides sought a compromise solution. Subsequently, **26 October 1962 Nikita Khrushchev admitted presence of missiles** in Cuba as a defence and agreed to withdraw them if the USA commits not to attack Cuba. He also called for the withdrawal of the U.S. missiles from Turkey and Italy, to which John F. Kennedy

agreed. The world exhaled because it found a peaceful solution to the conflict and the possibility of nuclear war was thus averted. The meaning of the Caribbean crisis lay in the discovery that it is possible to establish a policy of peaceful coexistence and the balance of power proved to be positive for reasonable and mutually acceptable agreement. Peaceful solution found fame in the world except China, which marked the proceedings of the USSR as cowardly.

On 5 January **1963** the **Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water** between the **USSR, the USA** and **Great Britain** was signed in Moscow. China, France or other countries did not join at that time.

The new direction of American foreign policy was influenced by the **assassination of John F. Kennedy on 22 November 1963** in Dallas. **Vietnam** became its evidence. In the summer of **1964** the USA provoked various incidents in the Gulf of Tonkin on distortions of territorial waters patrol boats responded by fire from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the U.S. side led by President Johnson, in accordance with the resolution of the U.S. Congress began bombing Vietcong supply routes in Laos and selected targets on the territory of North Vietnam. Over the time the number of the U.S. troops in Vietnam grew to 536,000 in 1968. The conflict was gradually internationalised, regime in South Vietnam was corrupt, influence of religion and sects had grown. In May 1968, peace talks began in Paris, where both sides Democratic Republic of Vietnam and USA wanted to find a way to stop the fighting, but remained at a standstill since the Vietcong units began bombing Saigon and took the offensive on the territory of South Vietnam. A year later, President Richard M. Nixon began to gradually withdraw the troops.

In Europe, the foundations were laid for the new policy, longstanding rivals France and Germany established closer ties, but the USA and the USSR decided on Europe. Chancellor Konrad Adenauer leader of Germany was a **supporter of German reunification**. But during his term of office he had to deal with the fact that the main problem of the USA in 1960s of the 20th century was Vietnam, gradually the relations with the USSR improved and therefore the German question was not a number one for the USA and so he did not live to support his foreign policy intention to refuse to recognise *de jure* the existing *status quo* (the existence of two German Republics, German Democratic Republic and German Democratic Republic). Thus, **the Bonn government changed tactics** and refocused on increasing emphasis to improve the fate of the Germans in German Democratic Republic and not the unification of Germany. The focus was on the expansion of trade with the Eastern bloc. Konrad Adenauer was convinced that the threat of Soviet communism can be faced only if France and Germany unite across Europe. There was also a fear of a possible Franco-Soviet rapprochement and fear about the future orientation of the German national representation. He therefore believed that the integration of Germany into the western area is more important than the unification of Germany and permanent solution and settlement of relations with France is possible only on the basis of European integration. He was also

willing to make some concessions to France; his focus was on the relationships that he consistently favoured.

French President **Charles de Gaulle** excelled in terms of unleashing a new era of European policy but he was not forgetting the independence of his own foreign policy. He also tried to carry out effective monitoring of German-Soviet relations, and therefore it was important for him to commit Germany to France in the economic field. For this reason, he also agreed to the establishment of the European Economic Community, where France played a dominant role thanks to German support. The development of these relationships culminated in the signing of the so-called Élysée Treaty on French-German Friendship in 1963. Independence of the French foreign policy is seen also in the departure of France from the NATO integrated command structure, given that he failed to promote significant share of France shaping NATO policy. He pushed a new release policy with Eastern Europe. In 1964, France recognised the People's Republic of China and exchanged ambassadors, contrary to the U.S. policy, which did not recognise the People's Republic of China (the representative of Chiang Kai-shek regime was still sitting in UN Security Council).

Weakening of the Great Britain position in world politics continued during this period. Latin America had been outside the mainstream of international events, in most cases it preceded in close conjunction with the USA.

Palestine Liberation Organisation was established in May **1964**, which has grown to become the largest Palestinian exile organisation that featured smaller factions, with the support of Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, but with resistance **Jordanian King Hussein bin Talal** (Jordan had a large number of Palestinian refugees and the King feared their separatist tendencies). It came up to world public awareness under the leadership of **Yasser Arafat**, who became the leader in 1969. The Middle East has been the focus of conflicts since World War II. After the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Sinai Peninsula in 1956, on the borders with Israel, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria, incidents occurred there very often. Syria shelled Israeli territory from the Golan Heights, UN troops were withdrawn from Sinai at the request of Nasser and Egypt consequently increased the concentration of its army in this territory. Israel felt to be particularly at risk after Jordan and Iraq joined the position of Egypt, despite their eternal rivalry. The situation even called for Soviet-American consultations over so called *hot line*, the result was a warning of Moscow to Cairo, that it is not desirable for Egypt to make war in the area, and attacked first. So called preventive war (although not in accordance with international law) started on 5 June 1967 by a surprising attack of Israel in the air, which destroyed a significant portion of the enemy aircraft. Israel captured the West Bank of Jordan, including East Jerusalem, the Gaza Strip of Egypt and the entire Sinai Peninsula, the Syrian Golan Heights and gained access to the Red Sea. **The Six-Day War was the most serious conflict in 1967**, followed by a strong *exodus* of Palestinians to neighbouring countries and building settlements in the occupied territories. Myth of Israeli military invincibility originated, Israel was described as the aggressor, not only in the Arab world. Charles de Gaulle, the most important ally of Israel turned away, what was the cause of developing the strategic partnership between

Israel and the USA Subsequently, **the UN Security Council adopted Resolution no. 242** (1967), which calls for Israel's withdrawal from occupied territories and insurance of the right of all states in the area to live in peace and security. The USSR and most socialist countries broke off diplomatic relations with Israel after the war.

Changes were happening in Europe, especially in Czechoslovakia in 1968 – **Alexander Dubček**, the symbol of "socialism with a human face," became the head of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and General **Ludvík Svoboda** became President. The censorship was lifted, new political parties were created, the work for the foundation of Federation began and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was undergoing inner transformation. It was a democratic process called **Prague Spring**. However, this raised concerns in the Soviet Union and its satellites, and so 21 August 1968 The Warsaw Pact troops entered Czechoslovakia (USSR, Hungary, German Democratic Republic, Poland and Bulgaria). The issue of military intervention was a part of the UN Security Council programme; however, the USSR vetoed the resolution. Both superpowers accepted bipolar division of the world, the events were seen as an internal matter of the socialist camp. The largest Communist Parties in Western Europe stood up against each other. Normalisation followed in Czechoslovakia, led by the new central secretary of the Communist Party **Gustáv Husák**.

Willy Brandt became a Social Democrat Chancellor in **Federal Republic of Germany** in 1969. In 1972 he began negotiations with the German Democratic Republic on the Basic Treaty. The result was the opening of the permanent representations between the two states (a diplomatic mission, specificity expressed by the title that they are two German states). The UN responded to this fact and **adopted both republics** as the Member States **in 1973**.

Détente at the highest level – the term "*tension release*" replaced the term "**policy of peaceful coexistence**," which seemed to the USA as Communist. *Détente* policy meant to block the release of discipline, which brought with it the manifestation of minor conflicts, activation of focus of tension.

President **Richard M. Nixon** was elected president in the USA. To confirm the status of a superpower, he came up with a new concept of vietnamisation of the Vietnam War, which was to allow the U.S. troops to withdraw and focus on the material support of the government of South Vietnam. The opposite proved to be true. There was an expansion of the U.S. troops into Cambodia and Laos.

Disputes between Catholics and Protestants in **Northern Ireland** led to an armed conflict; the British government was forced to deploy troops.

The socialist **Salvador Allende**, who won the elections in **Chile**, was trying to ease social tensions and reduce inequalities between different social groups of the population, but it encountered resistance of the U.S. opposition and so in September 1973, a military coup took place, supported by local and foreign forces with General **Augusto Pinochet** as the head of state.

Indian peninsula experienced another crisis. Pakistan consisted of two distant territories, Punjabi-speaking population in the West, Bengal especially in the East. In 1971 **Bangladesh** was declared an independent state, supported by India, while China supported the government of Pakistan. Local armed encounters started between Indian and Pakistani armies, which grew into regular fights. India recognised Bangladesh, Pakistan suspended diplomatic relations with it, and consequently in 1972 Bangladesh was admitted to the United Nations.

Secretary of State **Henry Kissinger** suggested in the early 1970s of the 20th century, that the USA ought to have **better relations with the USSR and China**, compared to what these two countries have with one another, which would allow the USA more influence on world politics. Richard M. Nixon announced in 1971, that he accepted the offer to visit China. On 26 October 1971 China entered the United Nations and replaced a representative of the Chiang Kai-shek regime in the UN Security Council. In February 1972, President Richard M. Nixon visited China, he met with the Chairman of the Communist Party of China Mao Zedong, solid foundation for further cooperation and peaceful relations were laid and the trade between the two countries was released.

Détente policy acquired a form of peaceful cooperation for mutual benefit. **Richard M. Nixon** visited **Moscow** in 1972, the visit was well prepared, and agreements on disarmament were signed.

Secret talks between the USA and the High Representative of the **Democratic Republic of Vietnam** had been taking place since May 1972 in Paris, and at the end of the year; Richard M. Nixon announced the bombing halt. Agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam was signed in January 1973 in Paris and thus recognised sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam as stated in the Geneva Agreements of 1954. The April 1976 elections were announced deciding on a definite unity of Vietnam and the **Socialist Republic of Vietnam** was established. Agreement on ending the war and restoring the ceasefire in Vietnam matched the overall trend of *détente* – release.

During one of the most important Jewish holidays, **Yom Kippur** on 6 October 1973, (Day of Atonement), the Egyptian army crossed the Suez Canal and Syria achieved some success in the Golan Heights. After the initial success of the Arab armies was their progress halted and Israel penetrated deeply into Egyptian and Syrian territory and occupied additional part of this territory. This conflict was one of the points of contentions between the USA and the USSR, where the USA supported Israel and the USSR supported Arab countries. Another source of tension was the Lebanese-Israeli border. In Lebanon there were many Palestinian refugees, the Palestine Liberation Organisation made focal points from their camps for attacks on Israeli territory. These camps were bombed by the Israeli Air Force, which created a new fuse in this region.

In the U.S., domestic political tensions grew between President and Congress, which started with the **Watergate** affair, of monitoring telephone conversations of the opposition party in the elections. Congress gradually limited the power of Presi-

dent and thus Richard M. Nixon 8 August 1974 resigned from his post, replaced by vice president **Gerald R. Ford**. Consequently, he met with **Leonid I. Brezhnev**, to confirm the principles of mutual relations and released a declaration on limitation of strategic attack weapons **SALT II**.

Year 1975 marked the removal of the Fascist regime in Portugal and the Franco regime in Spain. The **Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe** was signed on 1 August 1975. Although it united Europe, it also confirmed its division and also contributed to the stability of the political situation in Europe. **Jimmy E. Carter** won the U.S. presidential elections **in 1976**; traits that threatened the release process began to appear in his politics. The basic problem between the East and West had become an *issue of human rights* which the Eastern Bloc understood as interference in internal affairs. Nevertheless, **SALT II** treaty was signed in 1979 in Vienna.

In 1978 the Polish archbishop **Karol Wojtyła**, who accepted the name **John Paul II**, was elected Pope.

In 1979 after the overthrow of the Western-oriented Shah of Iran – Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the Islamic Republic of Iran was proclaimed, it nationalised the country's oil wealth, the dispute between Iraq and Iran border area grew into an armed conflict, which did not end until 1988. In 1979 **Soviet troops entered Afghanistan** in order to remain the raised communist regime in power, while the USA supported the Afghan rebels. The USSR failed to break the resistance of rebels and the situation had a significant impact on worsening the international situation after releasing tension in the 1970s of the 20th century. The UN was involved in the conflict from the beginning succeeding in **1988 by signing the Geneva Agreement**, under which the Soviet Union withdrew its troops from Afghanistan in February 1989.

Ronald W. Reagan, a supporter of tough action against the USSR and its satellites, which advocated military force, won the presidential elections in the **USA** in 1980.

In 1981, Poland experienced deteriorating economic situation which led to anti-Soviet and anti-communist focused riots resulting in a state of emergency and general **Wojciech Jaruzelski** became the head of a military council.

After the death of **Leonid I. Brezhnev** in November 1982, **Jurij V. Andropov** who became the head of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union decided on the deployment of operational missiles on the territory of Czechoslovakia and German Democratic Republic. After his death and the death of **Konstantin U. Chernenko** in 1985, **Mikhail S. Gorbachev** stood in a lead of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, who introduced "**perestroika**" in the Eastern Bloc. This led to a change in world politics and the essence of a concept became a new political thinking on indivisible Europe and "**common European home**." He met with Ronald W. Reagan in Geneva, where both agreed that nuclear war must never be unleashed because no party can win and neither of them will try to seek military superiority. In December 1987 the

Soviet delegation flew to Washington for the next meeting of the two top leaders after Reykjavik, Vienna and Geneva. The result of the meeting was a departure from the feverish arms and decommissioning of medium and short-range nuclear missiles. In 1988, the process of ratification of the secondary rockets and short-range missiles was completed in Moscow, a contract on a 50% reduction of strategic nuclear weapons was prepared and an agreement was signed on the departure of Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

A year **1989** can be termed as the year of dismantling the **Soviet empire**:

- **Poland** – discontent of the rioting population (in 1988) resulted in January 1989 to permit the activities of the Solidarity movement, which became the winner of the elections and set up a coalition government led by the Catholic **Tadeusz Mazowiecki**.
- **Hungary** – **János Kadar** retired, **Imre Nagy** was buried and October militia were dissolved, Communist Party property was passed into the hands of the State, borders with Austria were open during the whole summer, which the tourists took advantage of in order to leave the GDR to the FRG. The first free elections were held at the beginning of the following year resulting in the emergence of the coalition government without the participation of former communists, led by **József Antall**.
- **German Democratic Republic** – mass marches of the population demanded political reforms, after the fall of former state leadership headed by **Erich Honecker** in November. The government cancelled travel restrictions and decided to tear down the Berlin Wall. In 1990, free elections were held and the question of German reunification came to the fore. 2 + 4 discussions started (Federal Republic of Germany, German Democratic Republic + the USSR, USA, Great Britain and France), which culminated in signing an agreement of attachment German Democratic Republic to Federal Republic of Germany. The representatives of the four superpowers signed **Declaration in New York** (1 December 1990), which returned full sovereignty to Germany and ended a special status of Berlin. **Helmut. Kohl** was Prime Minister.
- **Czechoslovakia** – The Velvet Revolution that ended the communist regime began in November, a dissident **Vaclav Havel** became president and **Marián Čalfa**, a former communist became Prime Minister.
- **Bulgaria** – most loyal Soviet satellite country where the police took brutal action against Bulgarian environmentalists, followed by the resignation of **Todor Zhivkov** in November and **Petar Mladenov** became new Prime Minister.
- **Romania** – the fall of the regime was most dramatic and was marked by blood, riots broke out in December during the congress of the Communist Party, then the army sided with the strikers, the communist establishment was overthrown and President **Nicolae Ceaușescu** and his wife were captured on the run, convicted and shot by a military tribunal. After the election, **Ion Iliescu**, a critic of **Nicolae Ceaușescu** became new president.
- **Yugoslavia** – Croats and Slovenes demanded independence, Serbian communists led by **Slobodan Milošević** required to maintain the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which eventually disintegrated.

The following events were the symbolic culmination of the fall of communism in 1990:

- the USSR Supreme Soviet annulled Article on the leading role of the Communist Party
- **Council for Mutual Economic Assistance** is dissolved
- Decision on unilateral cancellation of the Warsaw Pact (01 July 1991 in Prague)
- Withdrawal of Soviet troops from the territory of Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

VIII. 7 Post-bipolar World after 1990

Revolutionary changes in Central and Eastern Europe had an impact on world politics. At the end of 1989 **Mikhail Gorbachev** even ensured the newly elected U.S. President **George W. Bush Senior** that the USSR would not intervene in the transformation of the socialist countries.

Summit of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was convened to Paris in November 1990, during which the **Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe** (CFE) was signed. It is a perpetual covenant that restricts state of conventional armaments and equipment in the Conventional Forces in its thirty States Parties (originally it was signed by sixteen NATO countries and six Warsaw Pact countries). The summit culminated in the adoption of the final document, the Charter of Paris for a New Europe, where they stated the end of the Cold War and the bipolar division of the world. In **1994**, Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe transformed the **Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe**, an international security organisation whose aim is to prevent conflicts and restore peace and stability, thus promote democracy and collective security.

In Central Europe, there had been several integration groupings, which include the **Visegrad Four (V4)**, originally founded as the Visegrad Three between Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary. It became Visegrad Four after the split of Czechoslovakia.

Free Trade Agreement in Central Europe (CEFTA), which created a free trade area among the V4 countries, later joined by other transition countries (Slovenia, Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia...).

After the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact in 1991 NATO, which was seen as its counterpart organisation, was prevented from termination, but the organisation changed its strategic approach and declared itself as the **main guarantor of European security**. It entered into a programme with the former socialist countries called **Partnership for Peace**. In 1999, the first enlargement of NATO took place in Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic, and in 2004 additional seven countries (Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia). Russia perceived NATO expansion negatively, but nevertheless signed the **Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation**

and Security between NATO and Russia. Similarly, **Ukraine** signed **the NATO Partnership Charter**.

The USSR could not stop its disintegration either despite the fact that Mikhail Gorbachev, as the first president of the USSR, tried to reform the Soviet system, which, however, did not bring the desired effect. There was a crisis that led to the **collapse of the USSR in 1991** and the **formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States** – a voluntary community of individual united republics, which, however, added the three Baltic States; Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. These countries declared that they did not feel to be the successor state to the USSR. Georgia became a member of the community in 1993.

The largest and most dramatic was the disintegration of **Yugoslavia**, where problems started with the death of Josip Tito in 1980. More developed countries of the Federation (Slovenia, Croatia) refused to less developed countries like Macedonia through the federal budget. In **1991, Slovenia and Croatia declared independence**, later joined by Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia (European Communities gradually recognised the independence of Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992, Macedonia succeeded after changing the official name to the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). Serbia and Montenegro decided to remain in the joint union named the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Montenegro also became independent after a referendum in 2006.

The Central Government has sent the Federal army to Slovenia and Croatia, and thus a civil war began. It was over within two weeks on the territory of **Slovenia** which withstood its independence. **Croatia**, however, was interested in the creation of the Croatian state, including those from the territory of **Bosnia and Herzegovina**. This provoked resistance of the Serbs who proclaimed of the **Republic of Serbian Krajina** (Republic of Serb Krajina, 1991-1998) on the territory occupied by them. It was the country supported by the president of Serbia Slobodan Milošević, who wanted to maintain the Yugoslav Federation, which would consist of Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia and territories of Serbs in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina. The fighting between the Serbs and Croats continued until the end of 1995 (with a small break in the years 1992-1993). The UN sent their UNPROFOR troops to this territory, which had to be supervised by the ceasefire. The problem after the breakup of Yugoslavia was the **ethnic conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina**, where Croats as well as Serbians got involved. The mandate of the UNPROFOR troops was extended to Bosnia and Herzegovina. The problem was solved in 1995 by signing the so-called **Dayton Accords**, which stipulated that Bosnia and Herzegovina will remain a single state consisting of the Republic of Serbia (49% of the territory) and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (51% of the territory). However, the problems did not ceased, it was necessary to solve the Kosovo crisis. As the international community did not want a repetition of situations like in Srebrenica, where eight thousand Muslims were killed in July 1995, the community tried to force Serbia to come to an agreement that resolves the problem. NATO military forces, therefore, began bombing Yugoslavia in 1999, not excluding civilian targets. In the summer, the Serb forces withdrew from Kosovo, the United Nations sent the KFOR

troops to this area and Kosovo, like Bosnia and Herzegovina became an international protectorate. **Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe**, whose aim was to help in the reconstruction of Kosovo and throughout the former Yugoslavia, was signed in Sarajevo. Given that the Yugoslav conflict was characterised by brutality, the UN Security Council established the **International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia** in 1993, based in the Hague, which is intended to prosecute crimes committed in the former Yugoslavia during the conflict.

Another focal point of tension is the area of **Palestine**. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has lasted since the establishment of Israel. Palestine Liberation Organisation was in 1974 recognised as the sole political representative of Palestine and became an associate entity at the UN. Palestine Liberation Organisation developed various activities in Lebanon, where it resided, and sparking military operations by Israel forcing the Palestine Liberation Organisation to relocate to Tunisia. At the end of 1987, unrests broke out in Gaza and the West Bank that led to the uprising so called *intifada*, which lasted until 1994. The reason for it was the accident, were four Palestinians got killed. The second *intifada* began in 2000 and lasted until 2006. The reason for it was the visit of the then Israeli opposition leader Ariel Sharon to Al-Aqsa mosque. In 1988 Palestine declared its own state, which achieved partial success in late 2012 by acquiring the **status of a non-member observer state within the UN**.

After the failure of the war with Iran, **Iraq** turned his interest to Kuwait, a neighbour whose territory he considered his own province. In August 1990, indebted and economically drained Iraq **annexed Kuwait** and announced it for its own province. The UN Security Council declared economic sanctions against it (trade embargo), and gave ultimatum to leave Kuwait at 15 January 1991 and suggested the possibility of using armed force. Iraqi President **Saddam Hussein** did not accept the warning and announced never to give up Kuwait. The armed forces of allied troops from more than twenty countries formed a coalition, which took place two days after the ultimatum massive air attack on Iraq. **Desert Storm** operation began, which took place at the end of February 1991, after Iraq announced that it will give up claims on Kuwait, will release prisoners and make repairs. Kuwait was liberated. The UN gave sanctions to Iraq, but Iraq repeatedly violated them. The USA assumed that the conquest of Iraq and Saddam Hussein's defeat are thus sufficient that his regime was overthrown by internal forces and not the international community. The opposite was true. Saddam Hussein strengthened his dictatorship even more. The relationship between Iraq and the USA worsened; there was a concern that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction and therefore the end of 1998, the operation **Desert Fox**, which aimed to eliminate this possibility. The operation ended after a few days.

At the turn of the centuries there was the creation and expansion of the **European Union**. By the **Maastricht Treaty of 1992**, the European Communities established the European Union, the political, economic and monetary union, which was built on three pillars, reformed European Communities, common foreign and security policy and cooperation in the field of justice and internal security. The European Union is currently working on the Lisbon Treaty (which entered into force on 1 December 2009),

which changed the founding treaties of the EU and simplified its structure. The EU has become a legal entity and the successor of the European Community, established the position of its "President" (President of the European Council, the first President is Belgian **Herman Van Rompuy**), introduces a reduction in the number of Commissioners and MEPs, it will change the voting system in the Council to the so called system of "double majority" (Council of the EU approves the measure, if at least 55% of member states approve it, representing at least 65% of the European population) and the Charter of Fundamental Rights has become legally binding. It also introduced the possibility for Member States to withdraw from the EU. The EU has expanded several times, the original Six (Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg, Germany, France, Italy) added Denmark, Ireland, United Kingdom in 1973, Greece joined in 1981, Spain and Portugal in 1986. Austria and the Nordic countries Finland and Sweden joined these twelve in 1995. EU's biggest enlargement took place in 2004, when the number of member states was changed to 25 (Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia). Romania and Bulgaria joined in 2007, and since 1 July 2013 Croatia will be the twenty-eighth country.

The end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century marked the emergence of a new development of terrorism – **international terrorism**, which is based on international cooperation and governance, undermines peace and stability of entire regions. The end of the Cold War also meant the release of space for ethnic, religious and civil conflicts. Globalisation, which makes it much easier to link people across the globe through electronic communication, also contributes to this trend. These include the use of asymmetric strategies, unconventional methods to combat weaker against the stronger, which can not be defeated in a straight fight. Their aim is to kill as many people and cause the feeling of fear. Its beginning dates back to 1993 during the first attempt to destroy the World Trade Centre in New York, continued in 1995 by the attack on a federal office building in Oklahoma City, using the nerve gas in the Tokyo subway. The highlight is **11 September 2001**, during which terrorists hijacked civilian aircrafts and carried out suicide attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York as well as the buildings in Washington, killing more than 3,000 people. Organiser and performer was the Islamic organisation **Al-Qaeda**, led by the world's most wanted terrorist **Osama bin Laden**. These attacks were followed by other bombings in Madrid (2004) and London (2005).

After 11 September 2001 the war against terrorism began. The USA are the main supporter initiating military intervention (under Enduring Freedom) against Taliban in Afghanistan in 2001 and two years later against Iraq (under the name of Iraqi Freedom), which resulted in the overthrow of Saddam Hussein.

IX. International Relations in the 21st Century

End of the 2nd millennium has left a deep furrow in international relations. The events that occurred in the last decade of the 20th century significantly influenced the functioning of the world, and thus of international relations. Compared with previous "experience" of history, when a radical change in the system of international relations generally occurred after the end of hostilities (e.g. 30 – year war, Napoleonic Wars, Crimean War, World War I and World War II), the change in the system of international relations in the last decade of the 20th century was caused by the end of the conflict, which although marked as the Cold War, but in terms of the collision of two power units capable of destroying not only each other, but even the whole world through the arsenal of tactical and conventional weapons, never took place.

The division of Europe from Szczecin on the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic after 1945 and subsequently the whole world along the axis West – East caused the preservation of the existing *status quo* in international politics. This condition, the condition of the Cold War, was aptly described by Raymond Aron, stating that war is impossible and peace improbable. The period of the Cold War, some representatives of realism considered over the period of time to be one of the most stable periods in the history of mankind, the reason being a creation of a balance of power. On the other hand, it should be noted that almost none of the theorists expected such a rapid disintegration of the former Eastern Bloc.

As mentioned above in the last decade of the 20th century, there had been significant changes, of which the most important were:

- the USA moved from being a superpower to become a "hyper-power" with no real counterweight in international relations;
- European Union was established, in the latter half of the 1990s there had been a gradual integration of some former Eastern Bloc countries into Euro-Atlantic structures (e.g. Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in 1997, gradual process of integration of the countries of the Eastern Bloc to the European Union began);
- The **Russian Federation** as the successor to the Soviet Union failed to follow up on the status of superpower of its predecessor, with a gradual, albeit very limited positions restoration occurs after replacing the guard in the Kremlin when **Boris Yeltsin** handed over power to **Vladimir Putin**,
- China is gradually trying to find its place in the international community;
- There has been a change in the division of the world; the original constellation west – East was gradually replaced by a constellation North – South.

Technological progress and the intensification of relations between states caused that the 21st century can no longer be regarded as a century based on the traditional conception of international relations, but the quantitative and qualitative intensification of mutual relations determined the fact that **the 21st century** began to be called **the period of globalisation**.

The process of globalisation can be defined as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that the events of local nature are influenced by the events that took place in another part of the world and *vice versa*. A typical feature of globalisation is interdependence as a phenomenon, without which the 21st century could not be regarded as the era of globalisation. It is this interdependence that is contained in four dimensions:

- *Overlapping social, political and economic activities across national borders* in a way that the state or its authorities do not have the force that would be able to inhibit these activities, while these activities affect the daily lives of thousands of individuals and businesses in economic activity in other parts of the world;
- *Strengthening mutual social interaction between individuals* because of their economic activity or their interests;
- *Accelerating the pace of global interaction through technological development*, through which there is an increase in the level of turnover of people, goods, know – how and finance and
- *Increase in the extent, intensity and velocity of overall interaction while there is a blurring of the importance of distance as one of the determining factors of intensity of interaction.*

John Baylis, Steve Smith and **Patricia Owens** in their book *Globalisation of World Politics* (2008) provide the reader a set of arguments in favour and against globalisation. Consequently, they leave the reader to decide on the basis of the given arguments whether globalisation actually exists or not. In favour of the existence of the globalisation process, they state:

- **The pace of economic transformation** that is so large that it creates a new system of world politics in which states are no longer closed units that can control their economies because of massive expansion of trade and finance, which has resulted in an increasing interdependence of the world economy (e.g. establishment of free trade zones, the development of the European Union, etc..)
- **Communication** that substantially changed the way of communication throughout the world, as the events on one side of the world have the opportunity to be seen immediately on the other side almost immediately (e.g. attacks on the WTO, the death of John Paul II., The electoral victory of Barack Obama, the resignation of Queen Beatrix), in addition the social networking presents phenomenon that has changed people's idea of the social groups in which they live and work;
- **Global culture**, which is more and more remarkable makes the city and the people living there to resemble each other, with the formation of a common

- culture, which “has its roots in Hollywood” (e.g. fast food shops can be found on both Manhattan, as well as the Champs Élysées and the Unter den Linden);
- **Homogeneity** as a consequence of global culture (e.g. social habits, fashion);
 - **Time and Space Shrinking** due to the latest advances in science and technology;
 - **Gradual emergence of the global establishment** with the participation of transnational social and political movements and the importance of acquiring international groupings or clusters that arise at a lower level than the state (such as Amnesty International, Al-Qaeda);
 - **Cosmopolitan culture**, which combines a global feature with local (e.g. the already mentioned fast food shops respecting the status of cattle in India);
 - **The risk** posed by globalisation (e.g. pandemic diseases such as AIDS, SARS, swine flu, etc.).

On the other hand, Baylis, Smith and Owens give arguments against globalisation, arguing that globalisation is no new phenomenon, but rather the next phase of world politics. Arguments that they state are as follows:

- **Globalisation portrays the reality to be more unique as it really is**, because according to them, for example, the world economy was more open in the period 1870 to 1914 as it is now. In addition, there are very few real transnational companies because most companies have a national character and only their economic activity is truly international in nature (e.g. Toyota). Moreover, the shift of financial capital is not directed to the undeveloped world, but direct foreign investments are concentrated in the developed part of the world, especially in the block of North America, Europe and Japan, which can regulate the global market;
- **Globalisation has an uneven impact**, since it affects only a small part of mankind; the impact of globalisation is overestimated, example of which is the Internet access for only a minority of the world population or the use of mobile phones again only by a minority;
- **Globalisation represents only the remaining era of Western imperialism**, whether economic or cultural, as the export of ideas or access from non-Western countries has not happened,
- **The result is a large number of losers**, because the countries based on the principles of liberalism and capitalism have an advantage in comparison with other countries, where exploitation take place at their expense;
- **Globalisation provides better functioning of the negative groups**, such as terrorist groups, drug cartels, etc;
- **Globalisation does not answer the question of liability** in case of multinational companies for their behaviour, which is at least in violation of international law and national legislation of individual states (e.g. mining, environmental protection and so on.)
- Paradox lies in the fact that countries like Singapore, Taiwan and Malaysia, despite rejecting Western values, their economic success is enormous.

Careful readers will not miss perception of authors of the above publications to the arguments against globalisation through economic prism. Therefore, the question arises whether there are non-economic arguments that could undermine the existence of globalisation as a new stage of international relations in the 21st century? Or, indeed, are there mainly only economic criteria, which demonstrate the existence of a new operation of international relations and politics?

The major theme of the first decade of the 21st century can definitely be considered fight of the international community against terrorism. It can be said that the bombings in New York, Bali, Madrid and London meant that states began to realise not only the existence of international terrorism, and especially its security, but also economic and cyber threat. Military intervention in Afghanistan and then in Iraq showed the inability of the Western Hemisphere countries, despite its sophistication not only to beat, but mainly to create favourable conditions for reconciliation of countries after the overthrow of undemocratic regimes and transform them in the medium term into the country built on a minimal democratic standard of a western-style.

X. Foreign Policy of the Slovak Republic – the Role and Position of Slovak Republic in the Contemporary Geopolitical Space

Slovakia's foreign policy is determined mainly by including Slovakia in Euro-Atlantic structures. After its establishment, Slovakia made all the necessary steps to be incorporated into the international community, gained membership in major universal and regional international organisations. It became a member of the UN, Council of Europe, the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe and after fulfilling political and economic criteria it became a member of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, the World Trade Organisation, NATO and the European Union. And it was the EU that has naturally become the primary environment that affects everyday life and events in Slovakia. Within the EU, Slovakia supports decision-making processes based on the joint action of the Member States to decide on the rules of its operation. Within the European sectoral policies it draws attention to the creation of a European legislative environment in the areas of energy, transport infrastructure, development of the internal market, environmental protection and measures to mitigate climate change. Slovakia is actively involved in the common foreign and security policy, particularly focusing on the issues of the Western Balkans, Eastern Partnership, promotion of democracy, energy security. The safety zone is determined by the membership of Slovakia in NATO and focuses on strengthening peace and stability in Europe and the world and to preventing crises and security threats, including active participation and action in peacekeeping missions. Bilateral relations of Slovakia are built on the principles of democracy, rule of law, the universality and indivisibility of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the preservation of human dignity, equality and solidarity, international law and in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Baseline of foreign policy in the regional dimension is the policy of good neighbourly relations based on partnership, dialogue and equality of states. Due to its economic and foreign policy interests and the opportunities, goals and needs, Slovakia is trying to develop bilateral cooperation with other countries, particularly with the focus on relations with the Russian Federation, as well as other countries of the BRICS grouping called emerging economies (China, India, Brazil, South Africa), Turkey, but also with Japan, South Korea, Australia, and with its traditional partners in the Arab world, Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions of the world. Slovakia pays attention to the issues of democracy and the rule of law, human rights and freedoms. It rejects the manifestations of extremism, racism, intolerance, xenophobia, aggressive nationalism and anti-Semitism. It also actively supports the steps of the international community in the fight against global security threats such as prolifera-

tion of weapons of mass destruction, accumulation of conventional weapons and international terrorism. It pays an increased attention to strengthening energy security, environmental protection and adoption of effective international measures to reduce the rate and mitigating climate change. The issue of development and humanitarian aid cannot be avoided. Slovakia seeks to meet the international obligations and a range of global challenges, and, as a member of the donor community it is therefore confronted with such issues.

Given that the Slovak Republic is actively promoting global partnerships and efficient multilateral cooperation, in the following lines, we will focus mainly on its operations in the United Nations, its development assistance as well as the provision of good services in the bi-communal dialogue in Cyprus.

During its modern history Slovakia has been a member of several institutions and agencies of the United Nations. In addition to election as non-permanent member of the UN Security Council (2006-2007) and working in UN peacekeeping missions, to which we devote special space below, it must be said that the Slovak Republic was in the years 2010 to 2012 for the first time in its independent history, a member of the Economic and Social Council resolution, which is one of the main UN bodies. In 2012, the Ambassador and Permanent Representative of the Slovak Republic to the UN in New York, Miloš Koterec was elected President of the Economic and Social Council. Slovakia's membership in the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations represented a valuable and unique opportunity for pro-active cooperation in the global efforts to achieve sustainable development through enhanced cooperation between all relevant actors, including international financial institutions, NGOs, private sector, universities and youth. Also, the Slovak Republic became a member of the UN Human Rights Council for the period 2008-2011 (a subsidiary body of the UN General Assembly), whose creation was one of the reform measures taken in the previous period in the UN. Human Rights Council was established by UN General Assembly resolution no. 60/251 of 15 March 2006 and replaced the former UN Commission on Human Rights. At this point the continued success of Slovak diplomacy or its representatives has to be mentioned, who hold various important positions in bodies of the UN structure. International Court of Justice in The Hague is chaired by Judge Peter Tomka (2012-2015), who was previously the Vice President. Slovakia is equally proud that the professionalism and expertise of our diplomats has also been recognised by the UN Secretary-General. Between 1999 -2001, our then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Eduard Kukan was a Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for the Balkans. Since January 2012, Jan Kubiš (also our former Minister of Foreign Affairs) in the capacity of Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Afghanistan and Head of the UN Office in Afghanistan (UNAMA). From January 2009 to January 2012 Jan Kubiš served as Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE – United Nations Economic Commission for Europe) in Geneva. We must not forget his role as Secretary General of the OSCE in 1999 and 2005. Since June 2008 Slovak diplomat Miroslav Jenča is leading the Regional Centre for Preventive Diplomacy in Central Asia (UNRCCA) while acting in the capacity of Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General.

X. 1 Impact of the Slovak Republic in the UN Security Council

The UN Security Council is one of the most influential as well as the most important bodies in the UN. Undoubtedly it has the most significant position in the structure of this organisation, which is made by the agenda handled as well as the members, and mainly by its unprecedented authorities. The aforesaid reasons allow us to claim that in the area of preserving international peace and safety it almost has the monopoly position.

The beginnings of the UN have already been laid in the war period and therefore the whole structure and the way of serving its Security Council reflects that period. No doubt the UN Security Council can be called a foundation stone of the global security system. The UN founders made it into a body responsible for maintenance of international peace and security and the only entity authorised to make decisions about the legal use of armed forces in the international relations. Since the World War II called for the legal stipulation of the ban on threat of power or the use of power in the international relations (Article 2, Paragraph 4 in the UN Charter), the UN Security Council is the only body authorised to uphold this rule. It is exclusively authorised:

- a) **to decide whether the peace was endangered or violated, or the act of attack was executed, i.e. the stated ban on the use of power was broken and**
- b) **alternatively stop this sort of acts by the armed force if necessary.**

The Security Council is the authority with centralised decision making on the legal use of armed forces. The armed operations ordered are the exceptions of the above mentioned rule. The second exception is the exercise of the right of self-defence, however, the UN Security Council covers also this natural law of states, as the victim of this sort of attack is obliged to report the aggression to the UN Security Council. This obligation is important due to the reason that the UN Security Council can consequently decide the appropriate measures focusing on maintenance of international peace and security. Therefore, any military actions by the states out of the scope of the UN Security Council decisions or the right of self-defence are forbidden in the international law.

By its character the UN Security Council acts like a „global policeman“ in the international relations, and all the states in the world must conform, respect and enforce its decisions. These decisions have only exceptionally the nature of the armed intervention. In majority cases it responds to violation of the international law by introducing various forms of the sanction measures without the use of armed forces (under Article 41 in the UN Charter), or due to its selective approach it might not respond to the certain threats at all.

Arms embargo is a principal part of the coercive measures category without the armed forces, however, it is important to mention it does not necessarily have the sanction character. We have seen before that sort of sanctions introduced against the state only as the preventive in order to avoid worsening the tense situation in the country (e.g. in case of civil war when the UN Security Council hesitated to label any party responsible for the threat or violation of the international peace). Apart from this

sanction there have been other coercive measures of economic nature used, e.g. embargo on import of oil and oil products, various metals and other materials.

Lately we have been witnessing the situations that under the negative consequences on civilians suffering due to the international sanctions and persecutions by their own governments, the UN Security Councils decides on introduction of more modern forms of sanctions – so called **smart sanctions**. These are the sanctions with the direct impact mainly on the selected representatives, especially political, of the given states, although not on their civilians. The most frequent forms of *smart sanctions* are the band on the certain people air travel, their bank accounts freeze or the possible sanction is also the band on business with diamonds captured during civil wars, which were to self-finance the internal military conflicts.

The experience of the UN Security Council proves that the malfunction of these sanction measures caused more serious forms of coercion. Despite the given model of making decisions, especially resolutions, it would be mistaken to suppose the UN Security Council is obliged to apply the economic sanctions before the armed forces. If it actually decides so, the armed coercion can automatically be applied. The example situation was the war on the Korean peninsula in 1950 – 1953 when the US Security Council decided to take immediate deployment of the military forces without any prior form of economic sanctions. There are the following examples to deploy the military force after the sanctions of economic nature: war in the Persian Gulf in 1991, military interventions to the civil wars in former Yugoslavia (1992 – 1995), Somalia (1992-1995) and Rwanda (1994), as well a the latest example of such intervention in Libya in 2011.

In all mentioned cases the intervention can be performed only if all permanent members of the UN Security Council reach the consensus in decision making process. Otherwise the resolution cannot be taken as the proposal would be exposed to danger of veto by any of the permanent member.

Exactly the right to veto is the most disputable point of the UN Security Council functioning. Originally it was constructed as an instrument of prevention to outvote a permanent member, later it has become the tool of actual “real-politics”. It actually allows a permanent member violating the international law to avoid the international coercion. Hence, the wars in Vietnam and Chechnya never managed to get to the UN Security Council agenda. On the other hand this tool is misused in benefit of the states representing “clientele” of the permanent members. The latest example of such a failure to exercise collective coercion is the case from Syria where the civil rights have been violated since 2011 and the UN Security Council has not been able to act efficiently due the Chinese veto (China prefers political solution of the situation) and the Russian veto (Russia is the biggest importer of weapons to Syria). As per the examples set due to political reasons the UN Security Council activity applies the selective approach.

For better understanding of the UN Security Council operations it is necessary to clarify its structure. There are two categories of the membership in it – permanent and non-permanent or elected ones.

Permanent members of the UN Security Council are the powers winning the World War II (the USA, Russia, Great Britain, France and China), although the composition does not reflect the proportion of powers in the present system of international relations. Permanent members are privileged towards the elected ones. This is connected not only with the fact their membership is independent of the election in the UN General Assembly, but moreover, they have the right of veto as opposed to non-permanent ones, the consequences of which were mentioned above. Basically we can state the UN Security Council functions efficiently only in terms of the great power cooperation of its permanent members, i.e. under the condition none of them vetoes a presented suggestion. Such a situation usually occurs when its proposed resolution does not interfere in the interests of permanent members or their allies.

Ten non-permanent members are elected by the UN General Assembly in two-third majority for the period of two years, so that each year there are five members elected based on the regional key from so-called regional groups. This way its functional alteration of membership is secured, however the UN Security Council readiness for action is not disturbed. Its non-permanent members have basically the same rights as permanent ones, but none of them has their individual veto right, as a group they are entitled to so-called collective veto. In order to adopt its resolution as the judgment on the merits there are under the UN Charter (Article 27, Paragraph 3) required 9 voting members including all permanent members. To adopt resolutions it is required to have a proposal supported by at least 4 non-permanent members.

Every month presidency of the UN Security Council is by a different member (regardless of permanence) according to the English alphabetical order. Code 19 of the Provisional Rules of Procedure determines President as a represent of UN Security Council in its capacity as an organ of the UN. The UN Security Council is chaired by the President. He ensures its operation and represents it on the outside. In the first place the President convenes and administrates the meetings, approves the agenda of the meetings presented by the UN Secretary-General, gives the floor to permanent and non-permanent members as well as the states invited in order they were registered to the discussion. The President also decides on interrupting or conclusion of the summit. Apart from that the President also performs the “unofficial” functions – organises individual or collective consultations, orders publishing the decisions or in the less serious cases informs the UN members about these decisions in oral form.

In 2006 – 2007 the Slovak Republic became the UN Security Council non-permanent member for the first time since its establishment, in February 2007 it chaired the meeting. Before constituting two independent republics Czechoslovakia was its non-permanent member in 1964, 1978 and 1979. As an independent state the Slovak Republic was represented in the UN Security Council by Ambassador Mr. Peter Burian. Slovakia was elected a non-permanent member on the 60th UN General Assembly in

2005 and was supported by 185 out of 191 states. It was the only candidate to the office from so-called countries of Eastern-European region and replaced Romania there. It was the member from the 1st January 2006 to 31st December 2007.

Every the UN Security Council presiding state can present its own topics or issues concerning global politics in order to focus the international community, especially the UN Security Council attentions on them. The Slovak Republic presented the summarising priority need for flexible respond to the changing security environment and the current security threats in the range of post-conflict recovery, it focused the attention to the reforms in security sector, which is the issue previously marginalised by the UN Security Council.

The security sector can be defined as the area or imaginary group of participants or subjects assuring the safety of their own states. In practice there are police, army and secret services. Their main role is to eliminate the threat to the state safety. Reforms in security sector concern first of all the states in process of reconstruction (*e.g.* from authoritarian regime into democracy) or the states after an armed conflict. The main part of the reforms is to introduce such a form of social supervision over the fore-said powers that would guarantee them to become steady and reliable pillar of the state safety, *i.e.* the participants will not revolt against their legitimate governments and will not take over the power in their own hands. Actually, it could cause the state recurrence into the armed conflict (especially of intrastate nature) and ceasing the process of democratisation.

On the initiative of the Slovak Republic the need for reforms in security sector was also accentuated by the UN Security Council in the President Declaration S/PRST/2007/3. It emphasised the reforms in security sector are important for strengthening global peace and stability, diminishing poverty, enforcing the rule of law, system of good government as well as they have preventive effects since they impede the state recurrence into the armed conflict. It also highlighted that it is in the interest of all concerned states to set their own national approaches and priorities to the reforms of their own security sectors. The role of the UN is primarily to assist the states in reforms, whereas the UN Security Council stressed the role of regional, local and intergovernmental organisations including financial institutions and non-governmental organisations in the process. The UN Security Council also accentuated the role of peacekeeping operations of the UN and the UN Peacebuilding Committees in preparation and coordination of reformative programmes. The process of reforms is connected with other important factors of stability and reconstruction, *i.e.* transitive justice, disarmament, demobilisation, repatriation, reintegration and rehabilitation of former combatants, control over the arm trade as well as the issues of equality of genders, children in armed conflict and human rights.

During the Slovak presidency the UN Security Council has adopted the following four resolutions:

S/RES/1742(2007) – the resolution regarding the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and was adopted based on Chapter VII of the Charter. The UN

Security Council acknowledged the effort to help in building peace and stability in the country and contribute to political dialogue between the representatives of Congo. At the same time it also made a decision about extending mandate of the UN peace mission MONUC operating in the country. Since the 1st July 2010 it has been called MONUSCO.

S/RES/1743(2007) – this resolution also adopted under Chapter VII of the Charter was the UN Security Council respond to the situation on Haiti Island. It appreciated the process of national reconciliation, consolidation and reconstruction, procedure of free elections as well as the role of the UN MINUSTAH played in the process together with the OAS and CARICOM. By the resolution the UN Security Council extended the mandate of MINUSTAH mission on the island and called on it to continue with the stated process via provision of good services and assistance to the national authorities in fulfilment of their roles.

S/RES/1744(2007) – in this resolution adopted under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, the UN Security Council appreciated activity of the African Union and the Arab League focusing on building peace, stability and national reconciliation in Somalia. At the same time it approved establishment of so-called hybrid mission AMISOM, which is the common mission of the UN and the African Union. The resolution lists its roles:

- a) To support the dialogue and reconciliation in Somalia,
- b) To protect Transitional Federal Institutions and to help them perform their governmental functions,
- c) To participate in implementing National Security and Stabilisation Plan,
- d) To contribute in creating safe conditions for provision of humanitarian help,
- e) To protect their own mission units and equipment and assure freedom of movement for the members of the mission.

S/RES/1745(2007) – This resolution was the UN Security Council's reaction to the situation in Timor-Leste (East Timor), whereas just before the presidential and parliamentary elections the UN Security Council extended the mandate of the UNMIT mission and decided to increase the number of police force in order to support possibility of the law enforcement. In the resolution the UN Security Council did not appeal to any of the Charter articles based on which the Council accepted it. It summoned all the parties on the island to take an unforced stand and participate to the joining effect of the forthcoming elections. Simultaneously it called upon the island representatives to cooperate in the interest of peaceful and prosperous future.

Apart from chairing the UN Security Council the Slovak Republic was the chairman of several auxiliary bodies to the UN Security Council. Firstly, it is important to mention its chairman's function in the **Committee 1540** (established based on the UN Security Council resolution of the same number of 2004), the resolution is dealing with the **issues of the fight against proliferation of the weapons of mass destruction**. The resolution adopted upon Chapter VII of the UN Charter determines proliferation of the weapons of mass destruction, *i.e.* nuclear, biological and chemical weapons, as the threat to global peace and safety. The resolution orders the states to prevent from proliferation of the weapons amongst the non-state parties as well as via national legislation. The function of the Committee 1540 is to monitor implementing this resolution. There was one more resolution adopted in connection with the chairman's

function of the Slovak Republic in the stated committee (S/PRST/2007/4) regarding the issue against proliferation of the weapons of mass destruction. The UN Security Council claimed its intention to contribute the increased international cooperation in the area of implementing the stated resolution; it stressed the need for its compliance and acknowledged the activity of global union organisations in the area. Besides, it emphasised the need for the exchange of experience amongst the UN Security Council and international, regional and local organisations in the areas related to the stated resolution.

The Slovak Republic presided also the **Committee 1718** established upon the resolution of the same number of 2006. By means of the resolution there were a number of **sanctions installed against North Korea** consequent upon the illegal activities connected with its nuclear programme. The role of the Committee was **to supervise implementation of the sanctions introduced by the stated resolution and later extended by the resolution S/RES/1874(2009)**. The UN Security Council prohibited all the states from exporting the weapons, military materials, technologies and luxurious goods to North Korea. In addition to it, by the resolution the UN Security Council also introduced the enforcement measures such as *smart sanctions*, particularly the ban on travelling of certain people – upon decisions made by the Committee or the UN Security Council, freezing their foreign bank accounts and obligation of all the states to cooperate at the execution of the sanctions.

The Slovak Republic had also chaired of the **ad hoc Committee Mandate Review and the Working Group on Documentation and Other Procedural Issues**. The Working Group submits proposals, comments and recommendations to the members of the UN Security Council regarding documentation and other procedure issues. The chairman's function is executed for the period of one year; Slovakia was the chairman of the Working Group from the 18th January 2007 to the 31st December 2007.

The impact of the Slovak Republic in the UN Security Council has proven Slovakia is a trustworthy partner in the international community, which was evidenced by the support demonstrated at the elections to the body. Its credit grew during the period of its presidential function with the most significant contribution to its functioning presented by initiating the debate about the reforms in security sector, which had exceptional meaning in regards of global safety and stability of post-conflict countries. The Slovak Republic has been the active member of the UN, in 2012 its activity in the UN Economic and Social Council will finish.

X. 2 Impact of the Slovak Republic in the UN Peace Missions

The UN Peace Missions are probably the most significant contributions of this organisation to maintenance of global peace and security. No wonder the first idea people usually have about the UN is the mission known more under the informal name "blue helmets". The reason for this is their important preventive impact as well as their number since they are located nearly everywhere in the world. Most of all missions

have been deployed in Africa and Asia, in the areas suffering from poverty and hunger, there is causality between economically poor development and social disturbances. Without these missions in the world trouble spots the worldwide community would face the pressure of predicament situations leading to the armed conflicts.

The UN Peace Missions have preventive character, their importance lies in the impact against culminating the predicament situations into the armed conflict, or they intend to reconcile and prevent the repeated outbreak of the disunited parties. It means the peace mission can be deployed in a state on the verge of a civil war as well as in a country after the armed conflict, *e.g.* as it was documented by the mission UNSMIL in Libya deployed in 2011. The UN Peace Missions are the most usual means of preventive diplomacy with the most significant role to create atmosphere of trust between the disunited parties and to contribute to fastening peaceful processes. However their role has grown since the cold war finished it is important to mention that especially thanks to that period they were established as the competition of the powers in between the two ideological blocs made the use of other means of collective safety unable, apart from enforcement by the armed forces. The reason for the increase in number of peace missions since the end of cold war is the change of the character in then-latent disturbances into the armed conflicts, especially of domestic character.

The significance of those operations was so important and financially demanding that the UN introduced a special budget and a special department of the UN Secretariat called *Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO)*, it has coordinative and advisory character towards the peace missions. This department fulfils the irreplaceable role as it is the centre and a communication channel between the UN Security Council, the UN Secretary-General, the contributing states and the individual missions. DPKO also provides a help and directions to all the missions worldwide as it has much experience in operating other peace missions in the past, so it can recast it into possibility of a prompt respond to the actual needs. Deploying missions is decreed by the UN Security Council that is primarily responsible for maintaining global peace and security. During its history it has decided more often about deploying a peace mission rather than about enforcement measures in accordance with Article 42 of the UN Charter. Such a decree should not be regarded only in perspective of the fact that deploying missions is politically and financially less difficult, however, it brings a significant contribution to maintenance of global peace and security, but also from the point of view of the actual power impact of permanent members of this body.

Anyway it is more realistic for the UN Security Council to achieve the consensus in the issue of the mission rather than the decree to enforce by the armed measures under Article 42 of the UN Charter. The example of such a situation has been the recent development in Syria since 2011 when in the UN Security Council the resolution was twice vetoed that would possibly account for deployment of armed forces. However, permanent members of the UN Security Council (particularly Russia and China) did not have an issue to approve deployment of UNSMIS peace-keeping mission in the country. On the other hand it is important to stress that not all the situations, although threatening global peace and safety, require a radical solution in form of a sanction

measure with the armed force. At this point it is necessary to mention again that the peace missions unlike the enforcement measures do not have sanction, yet preventive character.

The legislative base for the mission deployment is questionable. However, as a means of peaceful solution to the conflicts it is grounded in Chapter VI of the Charter, it often happened that its mandate was under various circumstances adjusted and it was set the tasks under Chapter VII of the Charter (e.g. the UNPROFOR mission in former Yugoslavia). That is why the academic publications sometimes inform about deployment based on Chapter „VI and ½“ of the Charter. Deployment is in responsibility of the UN Security Council resolution by setting number of troops as well as their tasks. Especially due to the strategic place of this body we found the opinions that the issues of the mission creation and deployment and their operations are dealt with based on Article 40 of the Charter stating preliminary measures exercised in order to prevent worsening the situation. Obviously, the opinions about their legal ground are not univocal, although this issue does not have any substantial point for their efficient operation.

Dramatic experience in removing differences between peaceful and coercive missions witnessed in the 90s of the last century have taught us a lesson that they cannot be deployed under any circumstances. Therefore, the UN Security Council deploys them only in cases when:

- a) There is armistice negotiated between the belligerent parties, they are willing to keep the peace process and seek for political solution to their suit,
- b) There is a clear political target – possible and applicable by the UN Security Council resolution that is deploying the missions,
- c) It is possible to formulate their exact and unequivocal mandate,
- d) It is possible to guarantee security of the missionaries, especially by the belligerent parties (the situation on the site is assessed by the special mission usually sent to the country before the beginning of the peacekeeping operations).

Each mission is specific due to the specific situation of its deployment. In practice it lead to the progressive development, so called generations of peace missions. As the first generation had relatively simple mandate, e.g. to control truce compliance, the second and especially the third one have significantly wider and more complicated tasks – from distributing humanitarian help, organising free elections, up to total administration of the country subverted by the war. That is why the peace mission usually has not only the military but also the civil and the police units. Therefore they cannot be considered purely the military operations.

Apart from the above mentioned characteristics, in order to create the full picture about the missions, it is important to indicate the principles they are based on:

- a) Absence of coercive element – peacekeeping missions do not have coercive character. Their objective is not to subdue the enemy resistance or liquidation but to re-establish peace in the country or to prevent the conflict. The peace

missionaries are usually deployed after the active armed violence has finished or when the open armed animosity between the parties does not exist.

- b) Neutrality – neutrality is the most important definition feature of the missions and is accentuated by the moment of any state invitation so we talk about the explicit request by some state. It would not be possible to deploy the mission. The result of this important definition feature is the fact they do not disturb, but quite the opposite, they support sovereignty the state where they are deployed and *de facto* can prevent the state collapse as the negative consequence of the crisis situation. The fact, the home state closes with the UN so called SOFA agreement (*Status of Forces Agreements*) with determined rights, responsibilities, privileges and immunity of the UN units, also speaks in favour of respecting the state sovereignty. A part of neutrality is also objectivity, *i.e.* the units are not deployed with the target to increase the army privilege of any party and in case of a potential dispute they ought to keep political non-engagement. Their objectivity contributes to reduction of distrust and doubts between the states in conflict as they monitor if their mutual obligations have been met and they inform about the situation via UN Secretary-General as well as the UN. Apart from it they can also physically separate the belligerent parties (in so called buffer areas or zones) and prevent the appearance of the local conflicts.
- c) Limited use of force – use of the armed forces by the missions is accepted only in case of self-defence, *i.e.* if such missionaries are in attacked. Attacking a missionary is under the international humanitarian law forbidden as they cannot be considered combatants in standard understanding of the word and due to the meritorious activity provided they command their protection. Contrary to this there are such situations when their missionaries are military attacked, as indicated in murder of seven soldiers from the UNOCI mission in Ivory Coast in June 2012

As the UN does not have its own army, in case of any peace missions the same model as in case of the coercive measures with the armed force is applied. The staff of the mission is provided by the UN member states or according to Chapter VIII of the Charter some regional organisation is authorised to deploy the mission (NATO, ECOWAS, African Union, etc.) During the cold war the UN Security Council permanent members forbear from the military units supply in order to avoid the allegations of interfering into the sovereignty of the concerned states. Nowadays, they are more active, which is caused by the fact that their armies belong to the best-equipped and therefore the most capable to fulfil the tasks entrusted. On the other hand, creating the missions out of the units within the regional organisations has its advantages as well as disadvantages. The speed of their deployment as well as their willingness to contribute to the peaceful solution to the conflict as it can be immediately involving the states providing the missions speak to their favour. Their disadvantage can be the misuse of these units for the national interests of the sending states. Therefore, there are long-term neutral and uninvolved countries preferred.

Both models (within the UN or via the regional organisation) offer the Slovak Republic possibility to participate, whereas it is necessary to stress it belongs to the active contributors so it has created its international reputation and credibility. In the end, it also had an impact on its election to become a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council in 2006. Nowadays the Slovak Republic participates in the peace-keeping operations of the UN in Cyprus (UNFICYP) and in the observation mission in Middle East (UNTSO). Apart from them it works in the missions NATO – ISAF in Afghanistan (the mission with the UN Security Council mandate), EUFOR ALTHEA in Bosnia and Herzegovina (the mission with the UN Security Council mandate as well) and the missions of the European Union EUMM in Georgia. In addition the Slovak or the Czechoslovak army participated in 14 peace missions in total. They were directly the UN missions or had their hybrid character (AMIS II v Sudan). The Slovak Republic terminated its participation in them, the last time in 2008 in case of the UNDOF mission.

UNFICYP

The UNFICYP mission has a close connection with the gaining of independence of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960. The situation between the majority Greek and the minority Turkish communities on the island intensified and at the end resulted to the open conflicts between them. In order to keep the situation under control it was intervened by the UN Security Council by the Resolution No. 186 (1964) on the mission deployment on the island, which was approved by the Cyprus government as well. The UN Security Council was aware of the situation with the potential to endanger the global peace and safety and required the immediate solution to the situation. It appealed to the Cyprus Republic for performance of all the necessary measures with the intention to restore order and avoid other disturbances and violence. The UN General Secretary was supposed to set the number of the units after consulting it with the involved parties. In 1967 there was the extension of its mandate covering the supervision over disarming. After staging a coup Turkey intervened to the situation and in a few years later The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus was declared on the island. Since the Turkish invasion the mission was responsible also for monitoring the buffer zone between the belligerent parties.

The genuine change of the situation between Greek and Turkish communities came not until 2001, when the representatives of both ethnic groups agreed to open negotiations about the island future. However, all the efforts to stop its separation have failed (including so called Annan's Plan rejected by Greek community in referendum). So only the Greek part of the island joined the European Union on the 1st May 2004. The following year the number of the military staff of the mission reduced from 1300 to 860, although, the number of its police units increased. Even though the negotiations continued (in 2008 the passage in Ledra street in Nicosia opened), the situation is still unstable and the possibility to the island unification is moving away. Therefore the permanent occurrence of the mission on the island is necessary and the UN Security Council is forced to extend its mandate each 6 months.

The mission has at present time altogether 929 uniformed missionaries, out of them there are 860 soldiers and 69 policemen supported by corps of 152 civilians – out of them 113 Cyprians and the rest are the subjects of other countries. The states participating in military troops are Argentina, Austria, Canada, Hungary, Peru, Great Britain and Slovakia (189 soldiers), whereas the troops from Croatia are the part of the Slovak contingent.

UNTSO

The observation mission UNTSO is the oldest and still existent mission of the UN. It was established by the resolution of the UN Security Council No. 50 (1948) as a consequence of the first Arab-Israeli war and its mandate has changed time to time depending on the actual situation in the region. It is acting in Middle East, controlling maintenance of truce (e.g. in the Syrian part of Golan Highs but the observers are present on the Sinai Peninsula and elsewhere) and preventing the individual incidents to turn into more serious disturbances. At the same time it helps the other UN missions in the region perform their mandate. Its missionaries are prepared to create the core of any other new mission anywhere in the world in case it has been decreed by the UN Security Council. It closely cooperates with the missions UNDOF (Golan Highs) and UNIFIL (Lebanon). At the moment it has 151 military observers and the group of 232 civilians assisting with its mandate performance. Slovakia has 3 soldiers in the mission.

ISAF

The ISAF mission works in Afghanistan; it is not the UN mission but the NATO, although the UN Security Council has approved its mandate. Its role is to help the government in Afghanistan create stable and safe environment in the country. Therefore the mission exercises military operations in the whole country and helps with training its army. It also plays non-military roles: reconstruction and development of the country as well as performance of various humanitarian assignments in cooperation with the UN UNAMA mission in the country. Apart from that it helps during construction of national government authorities, support to government of justice and protection of human rights. The Slovak Republic has been participating in the mission activity since 2003 and at present it has 331 soldiers deployed in Afghanistan.

EUFOR ALTHEA

The EU mission has been acting in Bosnia and Herzegovina since 2004 – follower of the SFOR forces lead by the NATO. It has a mandate from the UN Security Council. The EU mission has a role to place the troops in the country in the name of assuring safety and stability, to prevent bursting violence and supervise compliance with Dayton and Paris Peace Agreements. At the same time it also arranges developing and training Bosnia and Herzegovina armies. At present the mission has 1200 missionaries, but in case of necessity it can be reinforced from the KFOR mission. Occurrence of the

mission in the country is a part of the EU intention to help at integration Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as assistance to the national organs at crime investigations under international law committed during the civil war in the country. At present Slovakia has 35 soldiers in the mission.

Peace mission deployment is one of the most important activities of the UN in order to maintain global peace and safety. Their role and value by the worldwide community is also documented by the fact that the UN was granted for their activities the Nobel Prize for peace in. There is no doubt the missions are important, although, there is no exact note of them in the UN Charter, no member of the worldwide community has any disbelief in the thankworthy character of their activities. The Slovak Republic belongs to the active contributors to the missions and is trying to help in keeping and maintaining peace and stability in all the regions where their troops are sent.

X. 3 Development Cooperation and Assistance in the Foreign Policy of the Slovak Republic

Official Development Aid (ODA) is a summary of the activities of the state to assist and support developing (poorer) countries towards sustainable development. It is based on the perception of responsibility for global development, which governments want to help in this way. It is built on the basis of funds earmarked by the national governments of national budgets and subsequently transferred either by international institutions such as UN, OECD, the EU focused on development assistance (multilateral development assistance), or their finances projects and programs in these selected countries (bilateral development assistance), or by agreement with a partner (trilateral development aid). The history of institutionalised ODA goes back to the mid-20th century, a period marked by the consequences of World War II, the Great Depression, and the wave of decolonisation, in agreement with the Bretton Woods Conference (1944) two international financial institutions were established; the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank). After World War II there was a need to build a war-devastated Europe, the United States responded with the offer of Marshall Plan for European countries. The best-known UN agency that plays an important role in the direction and implementation of development aid at the world level is the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). In 1961 the OECD was founded, which also aims to help less developed countries. The EU development policy ranks among the most important topics in the field of foreign relations. Historically, the international institutions have become the first entities through which international development cooperation began to be provided. This, however, has become an instrument of foreign policy of individual states, which is defined above as bilateral development assistance, cooperation. It is therefore a complex of attitudes and motives linking solidarity and promotion of national interests.

Slovakia's accession to the OECD in 2000 (the 34 most developed countries of the world) and integration into Euro-Atlantic structures has become part of the global community of countries that support developing countries. Mechanism of Official De-

velopment Assistance of Slovakia, as we know it today, was established in 2003. Its foundation was formed in 1999-2002, to include Slovak Republic again to a group of donors, which it belonged at the time of the joint Czechoslovak state. This means that in the first period of transition, the Slovak Republic was a pure recipient of development aid.

Slovak diplomacy in 2012 saw five reasons for the inclusion of development cooperation and assistance to its foreign policy:

- HELP – our belief that we want to help those who are in need
- OBLIGATION – except international law obligations and moral imperative of own experience (support we received, we must also provide it)
- LINKS – Slovakia does not exist in isolation but is part of a globalised world
- STORY – Slovakia is a modern and dynamic country that even 24 years ago did not know it would gain freedom
- OPPORTUNITY – the new link theory with practice, the creation of new jobs for SR

Goals of the Official Development Assistance Act of the Slovak Republic stipulate law No. 617/2007 of Coll. on official development assistance and UN Millennium Development Goals. They are:

- a) reducing poverty and hunger in developing countries
- b) promoting sustainable economic, social and environmental development of developing countries,
- c) ensuring peace and security in the world, particularly the strengthening of democracy, rule of law, human rights and good governance in developing countries
- d) promoting universal access to education in developing countries
- e) improving the quality of primary health care in developing countries
- f) promoting economic cooperation with developing countries,
- g) raising awareness among citizens of the Slovak Republic on the needs of developing countries and the Slovak development assistance.

X. 4 Good Service for Cyprus

Providing so called good offices by the Slovak diplomacy converging Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities dominates in Slovakia-Cypriot relations. With this action, the Slovak Republic has eminent place in Cyprus and its services are valued by the leaders of the two communities.

The international community seeks to solve the Cyprus problem, in order to organise the situation on the island. The proposed partial solution came in the spring of r. 1989 when the Ambassador of then Czechoslovakia in Cyprus Dr. Emil Keblůšek offered free mediation discussions on neutral ground, which was immediately accepted and survived to the present day. He suggested to the representatives of both communities to organise bi-communal discussion on the Cyprus problem in order to seek

a solution acceptable to both parties. The first meeting of this kind took place on 16 May 1989 in Prague, where both sides sent their top political leaders. As the leaders of the two communities evaluate such meetings as useful and helpful, they agreed that they will continue to do so at home. So, the so-called **Institute of bi-communal dialogue was founded, which has been working under the auspices of the Slovak diplomacy for over 20 years.**

Bi-communal dialogue brings together the leaders and representatives of political parties operating in both the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities. Slovak diplomacy, which has gained a reputation of an honest and responsible agent, manages and moderates meetings of leaders at the **Ledra Palace Hotel**, located in the so-called buffer zone under the control of the peacekeeping mission UNFICYP (United Nations Forces in Cyprus). Ambassador of the Slovak Republic shall convene regular monthly leaders' meeting to discuss the relevant issues at stake for both sides. Slovak diplomats are impartial moderators of these meetings, they do not interfere with debate, they avoid any commentary, do not propose their own solutions. Slovak diplomacy sole ambition is to contribute to the convergence of both communities to maintain good relations between them and facilitate their mutual dialogue and clarification of the positions. During the long-term existence of bi-communal meetings Slovak Embassy in Nicosia developed a precise system of organisation and management. Institute of bi-communal dialogue brings together a total of 14 political parties, including 8 Greek Cypriot and 6 Turkish Cypriot to send to specific meetings usually two to three representatives. At the beginning of every meeting, a topic is suggested to which each participant expresses their opinion and presents their own policy group to the given question. To conclude the debate, all present agree on the text of a joint statement which the Ambassador of the Slovak Republic as a moderator of the meeting presents to the representatives of the media present.

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